

California Historical Society

Quarterly

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CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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COLONEL "JACK" HAYS

From *The Mexican War and Its Heroes*, Philadelphia, 1850
Courtesy of The Woman's Auxiliary, Society of California Pioneers

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JUNE 1939

TO CALIFORNIA THROUGH TEXAS AND MEXICO

*The Diary and Letters of Thomas B. Eastland
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FOREWORD

There are two points of particular interest to the diary presented herewith: one is the fact that the route traversed to reach California is most unusual,¹ and the second is that the son of the author, who accompanied him, rose to a position of great prominence in financial affairs in the city of San Francisco.

Thomas B. Eastland was the son of Thomas Eastland, a native of Virginia who was born in 1778 and who as a child moved to Kentucky, where about 1803 he married Nancy Mosby. The elder Eastland was commissioned as a lieutenant in the regular United States Army in 1801 and saw service during the War of 1812 as Quartermaster General for Kentucky under General William Henry Harrison. Thomas B. Eastland, the son and writer of the diary, settled in Nashville, where he engaged in business until about 1840, when he removed to New Orleans and established himself as a cotton broker and where he was elected in 1846 a member of the Louisiana legislature. In 1830 he had married Josephine Green, the daughter of Joseph and Sarah Womack Green, and on June 19, 1831, in Nashville, Tennessee, their son Joseph G. Eastland was born.

At the outbreak of the Mexican War, Thomas B. Eastland became a major in the Quartermaster's Corps and in 1847 was stationed at Brazos Santiago. In the summer of that year his son Joseph G. Eastland joined him at that post, near the Mexican border, and there served as a clerk in the Quartermaster's office.

Soon after their arrival in California, the Eastlands engaged in business in San Francisco under the name of Eastland & Son, but early in January, 1850, they went to the new town of Oro, on Bear River, where the senior Eastland invested in town lots for resale. During the next two or three years he acquired mining claims at Chinese Camp, Indian Gulch and elsewhere, and returned home in 1853, by way of Washington, D. C., where he tried unsuccessfully to obtain an appointment as surveyor of the port of San Francisco.

In 1851, Joseph G. Eastland was employed by James and Peter Donahue as bookkeeper at Donahue's Union Iron and Brass Foundry (afterwards the Union Iron Works), in which concern he later became financially interested. It is a family tradition that this was made possible because Joseph G. Eastland had purchased at an auction of unclaimed express a package, contents unknown, which turned out to contain playing cards which he sold at the then going rate of several dollars a pack. When the Donahues established the San Francisco Gas Company, young Eastland was made secretary of the company, a position he held for twenty-three years.

In 1865, Mr. Eastland founded the Oakland Gas Company, and in 1867, the Stockton Gas Company. In May, 1870, he married Miss Alice Lander, the daughter of Colonel P. C. Lander. To this union two sons were born: Thomas B. Eastland and Joseph L. Eastland. To the present Thomas B. Eastland the Society is indebted for permission to publish his grandfather's diary and the letters of both his grandfather and his father written during their journey to California.

At the time of Mr. Joseph G. Eastland's death, November 23, 1894, at the family home in Mill Valley—for the existence of which town he and his associates were responsible, for they had purchased the Throckmorton ranch and laid it out in subdivisions—the published obituaries called to notice that he was president of St. Luke's Hospital, director in the Donohoe-Kelly Banking Company and the San Francisco Savings Union, and that he was also interested in the Pacific Bell Telephone Company, the Paraffine Paint Company, California Cotton Mills, California Wire Works, Contra Costa Water Works, North Pacific Coast Railway Company and many other enterprises, besides retaining the presidencies of the gas companies he had founded.²

THOS. B. EASTLAND'S JOURNAL OF EXPEDITION TO
CALIFORNIA FROM NASHVILLE TENNE. VIA NEW
ORLEANS, LAVACA, SAN ANTONIO, EL PASSO & C. & C.

Left Nashville on the 21st Apl 1849, reached New Orleans on the 29th remained there waiting for transportation, untill the 11th of May,³ when we sailed in the Steam Ship "Fanny" (Capt. Scott) for Lavacca, Texas, where we will fit out for our long journey.

12th—Entered the Gulf of Mexico early this morning, . . .

13th . . . Among the passengers several agreeable Ladies & Gentlemen among the former Mrs. Cazeneuve a highly intellectual and interesting woman—she is said to be the Madame De Stael of America, a high compliment but no doubt deserved.

14th . . . Sometime in the night anchored off Galveston.

15th Entered the harbor of Galveston early in the morning, remained there two days—was much pleased with the City, and met with many old acquaintances, passed the time pleasantly—from appearances, the town is not in a flourishing state, a great number of houses closed—the Anti-annexationists attribute this state of things to annexation—this is no doubt true as far as Commerce is concerned.

17th Got under way in the Evg. and proceeded on our way to Lavacca Bay where we arrived on the 18th, remained on board ship during the night.⁴

19th Reshipped on board the U. S. Steamer "De Rosset" for the town of Lavacca, where we arrived on the morning of the 20th Stopping a few hours to make arrangements for Animals, finding no mules for sale, hired horses to take us to San Antonio 160 miles Via Victoria, Gonzalles, Seguine & C arriving within 17 miles of San Antonio,⁵ found at Col. McClellans (a most excellent house) a cavayard [*caballada*] of mules—purchased Six and remained there 9 days breaking them for the saddle and Harness.⁶

31st Left McClellans and arrived at San Antonio at 4 P. M.—we remained in town but a short time, went out about a mile to the River San Pedro and encamped, the water Grazing & C being good, we were much annoyed by heavy rains during the night and were compelled to remove our encampment to a higher spot—Camp No 17

3rd (Sunday) No one in Camp but myself—rest gone to town, . . . busy all day writing letters to my family and friends.⁸

June 4th & 5th remained in Camp, nothing new except that our Driver and Negro Boy Dow⁹ were bit by Scorpions, they complained of severe pain for an hour or two, but nothing serious was the result We killed several scorpions, a Terantula, Centipede & large snake while here.

June 6th left Camp No 1¹⁰ at 4 o c P.M., went 3 miles and made *Camp*

No 2 at a Creek (water Hole) called *Leon* found the water and grazing very indifferent and the mosquitos very troublesome, so much so that we put up a Bar, inside of which we found a large centipede, killed him, and quietly went to sleep.

June 7 Traveled 12 miles to a stream (mud hole) called the Media [*Medina*], Grass Good, water indiferent this was Camp No 3. . . .

June 8th Camp No 4 was reached after traveling 13 long miles thru an open prairie, the Thermometer standing according to my feelings a little higher than the tube would admit of this camp was on the Rio Medina, near *Castroville* (a settlement of Germans who appear to be industrious & very clever)¹¹ the River is a beautiful stream and abounds in fish—got my Wagon Tongue mended, or rather got a new one made, the old one having taken the liberty of seperating on the Prairie, 7 miles from the Town.

Camp No. 5—June 9 (Saturday) travelled near 20 miles to a German Settlement¹² finding no water on the Road, we went down a Ravine some two miles, and found a good "Water hole" and good Grass, both of which our animals were suffering for. I am thankful that they are so well provided for, after so hard a days work in heat enough to kill a Salamander—thus far we have no cause to complain, our Animals behave bravely, our means of transportation in good order, and a plenty of Corn Bread Meat & Coffee, not forgetting good sound sleeping in the Open Woods, and *day break* rising, preparing for the days journey— the Country through which we have passed since leaving Lavacca is chiefly prairie, interspersed with Oak & Mosquite timber and having some fine streams of water, though it cannot be said that it is a well watered Country or desirable, for farming purposes, the rains being few, and not to be depended upon in Crop Season, As a stock Country it is unsurpassable.

Camp No 6—June 10th (Sunday), traveled 18 miles to a German Settlement near the River Saco [*Seco*]¹³ encamped under a large live oak tree near good water & grass (the former from wells) better than any met with since leaving N. Orleans, from the last Camp the road very good but no water . . . —the Troops destined for El Paso encamped one mile ahead.¹⁴

Camp No 7—June 11th (Monday) Travelled 18 miles encamped on the Rio Sabinal (ahead of the Troops) found excellent Grazing & good water, the bathing delightful—caught some fish and spent the night very pleasantly.

Camp No 8—June 12th Tuesday¹⁵ Travelled 21 miles to the Rio Leona¹⁶ Encamped for the night 3 miles below the Crossing, and the same distance from a U.S. post garrisoned by one Co. of Mounted Infy, where I understand regular works of defence will be erected,¹⁷ the Leona is the finest stream I have seen in Texas, the water very pure, and abounding in fish. I have seen no such trout in any other stream—passed the night agreeably and next morning removed our camp to the head of the river (distance some 7 miles) where

the other Californians had encamped the night before, we having separated accidentally.

Camp No 9—(Wednesday) June 13th Being at the Head of the Leona we had fine spring water, and excellent grazing (here we will remain a few days)— this is the richest portion of Western Texas I have seen & but for the want of seasonable weather would be charming to live in. Busy all day cleaning up our Arms, moulding Bullets and getting our *Harness* fitted on for any emergency— All in good health, and spirits— Some Indian signs in the neighborhood—all we fear is that the rascals (like snakes) will creep upon us in the night and steal our animals—Woe be to the man who looses any, for no more are to be had outside the settlements— The Troops being encamped near us, we are treated with the music of a fine Band every Evening which puts one in mind of "*sweet Home*."

(Friday) June 15—Heard today of the murder of four Mexican Teamsters by Indians, at our Camp No. 7 on the Sabinal—these poor creatures had been employed at San Antonio to hawl Public property to the Leona, on their return to San Antonio they encamped at the place above named, where they were found next morning Dead, & stripped of every vestige of clothing, their Cattle driven off and nothing living in the Camp save a Spaniel Dog— It would be doing but justice to exterminate these heartless murderers—this affair caused a momentary excitement in Camp, but when night came, we lay down upon our hard beds, and slept as soundly as though we were at home in our comfortable beds—Men become used to any thing, even to having a snake or other venomous reptile for a bed fellow . . .

June 16th (Saturday) . . . Found one of my horses that had strayed away two days ago had fears that the Indians had stolen him, as fresh signs were seen not far from Camp plenty of Venison & Honey on hand, both our own procuring . . .

June 17th (Sunday) Got up this morning at day light & went fishing, caught a fine perch for Breakfast, went again after Breakfast and caught a quantity of the finest perch I have ever seen (this was about 200 yards below the head Spring of Rio Leona) divided them with some of our brother Emigrants and expect to have a good fish dinner— the joyful news has just reached camp that we will move forward tomorrow. I trust we shall have no more stopping, thus far we have made but little head way, and lost a great deal of time. California is yet afar off and many a weary, long day will pass ere we reach it, but the word is *Onward*, and our band is composed of men who will not turn their backs—Jo is writing home, Douglass¹⁸ nursing his hand which was hurt last Evening by a wild mule, nothing serious, will be well in a day or two—Dow Cooking, Eating, sleeping & lazy (though good natured) as usual, our Driver getting his wagon ready for travel tomorrow— All well.

Camp No. 10—June 18—Monday On the Nuesus [Nueces], distance from Camp No 9, 12 miles here for the first time we found it necessary to establish a night guard being a noted place for the thieving Lipans¹⁹ & Cumanches. No alarm during the night, though Indians were around us— (Good water here, but indifferent grazing) Our whole number of persons capable of defence about 25.

Camp No 11 June 19th Tuesday On Turkey Creek distance from Camp No 10—12 miles, this is a good place to Camp—fine Spring Water and excellent grass. Kept a strong guard during the night—signs of Indians in the neighborhood. we were not disturbed owing no doubt to our vigilance.

Camp No 12 June 20th Wednesday Encamped at Elm Creek distant from Camp No. 11—15 miles. Here we had indiferent Grass, and water—near where the Military Road crosses this watering place both are better—during this day we saw a number of Indians and many fresh Trails, we expected an attack during the night, but it passed off quietly— an Indian spy was seen near the Camp soon after dark, and next morning their Camp was discovered within 500 yards of ours.

Camp No. 13 June 21st Thursday On the Rio *Socata*²⁰ (English spelling) distant from Camp No 12—19 miles— here we found good Water & Grass—our Animals being fatigued we determined to remain here for one day— Indians seen during the day, but were not disturbed by them, nor any appearance of them during the night. . . .

June 23—Saturday. Concluded to remain here another day, which was spent by our party in fishing, repairing Wagons, Harness & C—Animals much refreshed. . . .

Camp No 14 June 24 Sunday Left Camp No 13 at 8 O.C. A M, found the roads very heavy in consequence of the recent rains, and concluded to stop for the day at *Meadow Creek 3 Miles Distant* from our last encampment—this is a small stream and only runs in wet weather, the Grass here is of very superior quality and our Encampment secure from surprise by Indians— this morning fresh trails were seen, but no Indians appeared— Our animals are much improved and we hope by good care to keep them able to do their work— this is the Sabath and although we have hardly anything to remind us of it, yet I believe there is not one of our party who would openly or knowingly violate the Holy Day—We trust in God for our future welfare— here we found the plant called *Rosea*, the seed of which is very pungent, and used as a snuff, produces the same effect as Tobacco, but without the smarting sensation of the latter—this article is abundant in this region and at some future time, it will become an article much sought after by those in high life who are effected by slight colds & can afford the luxury.

June 25th (Monday) Remained at Meadow Creek this day, the heavy storm of last night making the roads too heavy to travel without great fatigue

to our animals— We have thus far been tolerably successful in procuring venison and live mostly upon it, being anxious to reserve our Bacon for times that it will be more needed & perhaps our only food—Jo & Antonio (a clever Mexican in Company with Col. Hays²¹) were out late in the Evening hunting for Deer, I felt some uneasiness for them, they finally came in but without any Game—Jo has had several shots but without success.

Camp No 15 June 26 (Tuesday) On the San Pedro,²² distant 9 miles from Camp No 14— here we found fine Water but indifferent grass—the Bathing delightful—fish plenty, but difficult to catch, the water being so clear as to give them a full view of the anglers movements— here we found several varieties of the Cactus, the fruit of which I liked very much—No signs of Indians to day—the party moving along very well.

Camp No 16 June 27th (Wednesday) On the San Phillipa [Felipe] distant 13 miles from No 15—Good Water & Grass, fish abundant but the same difficulty exists as in the San Pedro—Bathing delightful—the Guard last night thought they heard Indians near the Camp, which I think quite probable, though on examination I found no signs—Hunting parties returned unsuccessful—As we are of opinion that the next water is upwards of 20 miles distant, we have concluded to remain here untill 3 O C tomorrow Evg. and go part of the way, trusting water may be found, if not, we must do without—All well

Camp No 17 June 28 (Thursday) Left Camp 16 at 3 O.C. P.M, traveled 10 miles to a *water hole* which we fortunately found situated in a small low Valley, about 600 yards to the right of the Road, the water very indifereant but good grass— . . .

Camp No 18 June 29 (Friday) On *Devils River*²³ 4 miles from Camp 17— here we expected to find his Satanic Majesty in the shape of rugged mountains and impassible ravines, for rumor had connected every thing horrible in the way of difficulties in passing this River—quite different did we find it— the Engineers (with whom we caught up at this point) had made a good road (one that an expert wagoner could drive down *without locking*) to the stream (about 100 yards wide) which we crossed without difficulty except that my pony slipt down, and gave me a good wetting— this ford is diferent from any I have seen—the bed of the River is *solid rock*, and generally perfectly smooth and level—average depth of water crossing about 15 Inches, the current is very strong, and I imagine too powerful when high to be contended with by any quantity of Animal power— the time will come when the Government will find it necessary to Bridge this as well as many other streams we have, and will have to cross— fish abound in this River, but I have had no success in catching them owing to the clearness of the Water— Bear & Deer are said to be plenty—Our hunters will be out tomorrow after them.

June 30 (Saturday) We remain to day on Devils River encamped in

Company with the Engineers, who are busily engaged in working on the road, leading over the Hills to the plains—the ascent is by no means great, and by night the work will be done, so that we can proceed on our journey tomorrow— Our Hunters & fishermen are out & we hope they will bring in some Game as we are all in want of fresh meat— Jo has just returned with a quantity of fine Grapes, very much the flavor of the Malaga Grape, but of a dark color and slightly more acid—in size near the Scuppernong and similar in form, if cultivated it would doubtless become a favorite Grape—I intend this Evening to have a good chance at them— The scenery at this point is beautiful, immense cliffs of rock on all sides, seeming as if they had been rent asunder by some great convulsion, leaving between, small valleys overhung by immense precipices, some of which look like invulnerable fortresses, others, like regular walls built by the hands of men—such are the freaks of nature.

As this is one of *the points* on our long journey, it is not remiss to remark that from Port Lavaca (a distance of near 350 miles) by the route we came, the road is perhaps (*naturally*) the best in the world for so great a distance—I believe there is not a place where it would be *absolutely* necessary to *lock a wagon*, I mean of course in *dry weather*—At some period it will be necessary to construct a Rail Road from some Atlantic point to the Pacific, and it seems to me that this or some other southern route must be the track²⁴—there are many advantages over the propositions for a more northern course—Viz—the certainty of constant communication at *all seasons*—water at convenient distances, and far more, and better timber for constructing such a work, to say nothing of seaboard conveniences for commercial operations.

We find today a variety of the Cactus some of the fruit of which is very palatable and no doubt healthy . . .

Camp No 19 July 1st (Sunday) Left Camp 18 at 10 AM in company with the Engineers, at a distance of 2 Miles we encamped at some water holes, very indifereent in quality, and poor grass— here we had to stop in consequence of the work to be done ahead— we caught some excelent Trout, Perch and Cat fish in the pools *below* the Camp, one of the latter I hauled out measuring near 2½ feet— At this place (immediately to the *left* of the road after crossing the ravine) is a cave, on the walls of which are painted various figures of men, women, Buffaloe &C, no doubt the work of Indians, and intended to commemorate some event, or as a sign to others²⁵— I caught a splendid soft shell Turtle here, which made a good dish of Soup for all our party—they are abundant in the water holes *below* the Road.

July 2nd (Monday) Remained at the Camp, waiting on the road makers, who were encamped just ahead of us . . .

Camp No 20 July 3rd (Tuesday) Left Camp 19 at 8 A M travelled 13 miles, taking us 7¾ hours (having to wait upon the Engineers who were in advance making the Road). We encamped at the *Cherry Springs*²⁶ (so named

from the fact that a man [of that name] in Company discovered them) on the *right* of the road in a Valley surrounded by Hills— the water is Excellent and the Grass not inferior to any we have found— here we will remain some days—All well

July 4th (Wednesday) This morning removed our encampment to high ground, overlooking the grazing ground, and immediately in the vicinity of the Springs— this being the glorious anniversary of our Independence a salute (of Guns) was fired at Sun Rise, and the Stars & Stripes hoisted to the end of a wagon (there being no higher elevation in this wilderness of Prairie)— no doubt this is the first time such things have been known hereabouts— We are now approaching the Rio Pecos, the great obstacle to pass on our journey— tomorrow a party will go ahead to find out the best route, if one way is practicable we shall have but little delay, if not, days & weeks may elapse before we make much progress— I have not knowledge enough of the Country to form an opinion— All are out of fresh provisions and as we are getting out of the *deer range* I much fear our *staple* supplies will become much reduced—Once at El Paso we can recruit our supplies— We celebrate the day, as best we can, and drink the health of our Country, wives, sweethearts, children & friends—Liquor—*new* whiskey which was potent enough to produce all sorts of toasts & songs, a fight or two between some outsiders, and the stealing of a horse at night, which however was recovered and the thief driven from Camp— Patriotism is a comon thing with Americans but here in wild Wilderness to see such love of country displayed is sure promise that our people not only know, but feel the blessing of living in a free and independant Government— Although every thing was conducted in order and harmony (except perhaps one or two instances) and the day passed off pleasantly, this camp has received the name of *Independence Hill, Big Drunk Camp, Cherry Springs*—and so we leave it on a board hoisted on a pole for the information of those who come hereafter.

July 5th Thursday To day nothing worth notice has occurred— We are quietly awaiting the action of the Engineers who are now off looking for the best route—Our animals are thriving and we hope when we leave to get along without further delay—All well— a little after dark Col. Hays arrived from the main body, bringing in a good supply of Beesves—Tomorrow we will investigate one of them.

To day July 6 Friday in company with Col. Hays, I rode over the beautiful Valley encompassing our Camp, in search of Water and a Camp for the Troops behind— we travelled some 4 or 5 miles, discovered several Water Holes in a ravine running nearly N and S *above* the road, E *below* the road— (I do not consider them permanent) the grass everywhere superb— The Engineer party have not returned, we therefore must quietly await their action before leaving— the journey is becoming wearisome on account of the constant delays;—once across the Pecos we are assured of no more diffi-

culties, and if what we hear from the Gila be true, we shall have cause to rejoice at our selection of routes— Our party has just added 7 to its number, making our force quite respectable in case of attack from the Indians, even if we were not with the Troops— No Indian signs seen at this Camp— . . . I forgot to mention that what is considered worthless in *Beef* in civilized society, is in Camp proven to be the best, the head *roasted* as it comes off the Beef (except the horns) cant be beat—a pit is dug, the head put in, covered up, and a good fire kept over it for some 6 or 8 hours, take it out, season to suit and epicures would start with wonder at its richness—the Marrow Gut is also delicious, and the blood puddings very good, so are the feet and shin Bones—If I live to get home again, these *fixins* will not be forgotten— I had a splendid shot at a fine deer to day but missed, being too confident of hitting— Our animals are improving, and no doubt is entertained of their ability to carry us through.

This Evening July 7 Saturday Col Hays and myself again rode out in search of water, not for our party, but for the Main body yet to come up— In the same valley, mentioned yesterday we found numerous springs (by digging) at a point where the Valley *branches* to the N E & S W, quite sufficient to supply more Animals than are behind, the grass is perhaps superior to any we have seen— we determined to remove to it in the morning— At night one of our party, (who had accompanied the party looking for a route to and across the Pecos) returned, reporting much work to be done, and scarcity of Water & Grass . . .

Camp 21 July 8th Sunday This morning at 4 Oclock made preparations to remove to the Water discovered yesterday (distance $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles) which we reached at $7\frac{1}{2}$ O.C. first pitching our tents and making our Springs, then having our breakfast— Our animals are greedily devouring the fine grass in the Valleys and promise to be in good order for their work ahead— This being Sunday most of our party are in their own tents, and the day is as quiet in Camp as in a well regulated City— It is possible that our stay here will be for some days, but we rejoice that it is the last delay on account of bad country, for roads— To reach this camp from No 20, travel a N E course till you strike the S W Valley mentioned, at the *very* beginning of which are the Springs . . .

July 9th Monday To day we are making more springs and have found some fine Water, it is the opinion that enough can be procured to answer all purposes for a large Army. The Engineers (who were encamped some distance above) moved down this morning near us— The road will no doubt be changed to run by this Camp on account of the good supply of Water— travellers should bring their wood, as it is not to be had here— the Springs have been called by Jo "California Springs"²⁷ and in justice to them should so be called hereafter— Col Hays returns to day to the main body, by him I sent my last letter for home²⁸ untill we reach El Passo— All Well—

plenty of Beef Venison & C on hand, which enables us to *save our Bacon*—just as I had closed this days journal a fire broke out in the Prarie not far distant from the Camp which at one time seriously threatened us, but by active exertions it was subdued, this fire was caused by the Main Body, who unexpectedly came up and encamped in our neighborhood, (at *Big Drunk Camp*) this saved Col Hays the long ride back to their previous encampment, and will enable the Engineer party to increase their workmen— At night Dow was on guard with his old musket, which accidentally went off, alarming the whole camp, which was soon under arms ready for action—Dow's explanation made all quiet again, he was a badly *scared nigger*—

July 10th (Tuesday) This morning the main body came up and Encamped near us, much to our annoyance as they pretty soon consumed nearly all the water from our springs, and threw on our grazing ground more than a thousand Animals—however we believe there is enough for all—We are quietly waiting on the Road Makers, and hope to leave here on the 14th—we are busily engaged to day in drying meat, reading and writing letters to our friends, which we hope may reach them—All well.

July 11th Wednesday To day got hold of a [New Orleans] "Picayune" of 18th June—a rich treat for us—California news cheering—Cholera accounts quite the contrary— here we heard of the death of President Polk, Genl Gaines²⁹ & others . . . letters from Genl Harney³⁰ received informing the Army of a rising among the Indians to cut off parties passing through the Country—They will have an *awful time of it* if they attempt such a thing with this one—Our Springs are improving to day, and I think can be depended upon for all our wants . . .

July 12 (Thursday) . . . in the Evening the "New York Freemont Association"³¹ 34 in number came up and encamped at *Big Drunk*, which was a wise thing, as our hopes of an abundant supply of Water are beginning to dissipate, Col Van Horn having permitted his horses mules & C to use our Springs, which, to say the least, was contrary to the usual practice among travelers in the Wilderness—I fear this course will be the means of driving us on, before we are prepared to go—I am in no good humor to day, but must quietly submit . . .

July 13th Friday It is said that Indians were seen yesterday some 6 miles off—some apprehension is felt for the safety of [Brevet] Major Richardson³² of the Artillery and Mr. Allen³³ Wagon Master who went out yesterday, and did not return, nor have they yet (10 A M). Men have been sent in search of them— We are now in the heart of the Indian Country and small parties are going out daily— until some of them are cut off, I fear the vigilance that ought to be exercised will not be— Visited the "Fremont Company" found them clever people, all well, and in good spirits—will spend the day with Col Hays, who is going to have for dinner some of his rare Campaign dishes—tomorrow I trust we will move ahead—the Engineers go this morning— the

road is finished to Devils River which we have to cross again as it was found impracticable to reach the Pecos without— took dinner with Col H and enjoyed it more than the dainties of "Astor", "St Charles" or "Hewlets"³⁴ and all will acknowledge they are *some*— Major Richardson & Mr Allen returned to Camp this Evening, they report nothing new—

July 15th (Sunday) All quiet in Camp to day, except a partial effort at a *Stampede* among the Horses & Mules, it was no go, and they concluded it was best to behave themselves according to the Rules & Regulations made and provided in such cases— some refreshing showers during the day and night— in our good tent, we slept most luxuriously, the sweet and delightfully soft Prairie breeze fanning us all night. If I were to choose between a City and Country life I should say "A life in the Woods for me" even without a "chosen band"—

July 16 (Monday) The glad tidings, that we advance tomorrow has given new spirits to our party, we propose leaving early in the morning and reaching Devils River where we will at least have good water and for fear of scarcity of Grass will take a quantity of Hay with us—we have ours ready & well cured— I must do justice to our Springs which (with some additional ones dug by the 3rd Regiment) afford plenty of water—I think they are permanent but am not positive—...

Camp No 22 July 17 Tuesday On the East side of Devils River 19 miles from Camp 21—the road very fair, considering the ruggedness of the Country— to our astonishment we found the Grass (Musquite) of excellent quality and abundant, rendering the Hay brought with us useless— the River here abounds in fish—the Bathing delicious.

July 18 (Wednesday) Remained here to day waiting on the Engineers who are a few miles ahead opening the Road—All well.

Camp 23 July 19 Thursday 6 miles from Camp 22, on Devils River, having crossed it to day 4 or 5 times— passed over a very rugged road, running along the River botom, the crossings very good— in this valley are some of the finest Forest trees (Oak, Pecan & C) I have ever seen, and the soil in some places very rich—We are now within 1½ miles of the Engineers and will wait upon their movements, I much fear, we have been too sanguine in our anticipation of more speedy traveling, there appears to be great difficulty in finding a passway to & over the Pecos— the guide is now out reconnoitering, and we hope he will be successful in finding a good route— At this Camp (E side of the River) the Grass is excellent, as well as the Water, Game is also plenty,—to-day we had Turkeys, Deer & Pecary (Wild Hog) in abundance—the fish fairly blacken the Water, some of the party have been successful, but I have angled industriously, without much reward for my labour—All Well.

July 20 (Friday) . . . some Wild Hogs & Deer were killed— some rain during the day—Our Animals are thriving fast, and will be well able to travel 25 miles (on an average) per day— the Engineers guide returned to day, and reports the discovery of a good route to the Pecos as well as of a River hitherto unknown to the Whites—water and grass in abundance—this is good news.

July 21 (Saturday) The Engineers have not moved forward yet, probably will tomorrow, when we will follow— This morning Majr Van Horn came up with his command and passed on to the Engineers camp— saw some Beaver in the River, could not get a shot at them— the morning commenced with light rains and appearances indicate heavy wet weather. We are comfortable in our Tents—proof against everything but heavy Winds and Rattle Snakes, a few of the latter being among the slain at this Camp.

Camp 24 July 22nd Sunday 10 miles from Camp 23 on the W side of Devils River and near its source in a beautiful Prairie Valley abounding in fine Grass— the March today was over a very rough road, and with the heat of the sun made hard work for our animals— . . .

July 23 (Monday) Remaining in Camp waiting on the Engineers who are busily engaged working a road out of the River Hills on to the plains, which they expect to reach tomorrow— the Indians are now about us, last night four horses were stolen from Major Van Horns command, one of which was found this morning some distance from Camp killed by an Arrow, the poor animal having no doubt given out— this will at least have the effect to make the night guard more vigilant, and more care taken of the animals— All well.

July 25th (Wednesday) Went angling in the morning, caught a large Trout (3 to 4 pounds) which gave us a fine fish supper, One of our party (a Jew named Rose) was (by order of Majr Van Horn) drummed out of Camp—he was condemned without a hearing, and thus disgracefully punished.—A little “brief authority” in the hands of a damned fool, is ever exercised injudiciously, and therefore (except by accident) allways injuriously— The “Californians” feel the insult, but like good citizens bear it for the sake of their countrys good— perhaps the time is *not far distant*, when this officer will be made to know, that a citizen traveling through his own Country in a time of peace cannot be thus arbitrarily dealt with no odds what the offence— poor Rose cannot return to Camp except at night, or when the Troops are out of sight— We have determined that he shall not be driven entirely away.

July 26 (Thursday) Last night the Government Horses and Mules *Stampeded*, the Cry was Indians, every man sprang to his Arms, and was ready for fight, but the Animals were stopped and safely herded in Camp— it is uncertain what caused the stampede but, as the Indians had stolen horses a

few nights before, it is reasonable to suppose they did it— this morning after the Troops had marched Rose returned to Camp to see after his property which had been taken care of— he was advised to keep out of sight for the present.

Camp 25 July 27th (Friday) On the E side of a large Water Hole (supposed to be a part of Devils River) one and a half miles from the Road right hand and 4 miles from Camp 24— the water and Grass *very excellent*, fish in abundance— here we will remain perhaps two days, our next March will be about 25 Miles, this will be a hard days work, but we can do it, as our Animals are in fine order—All well.

July 28 (Saturday) This day for the first time the whole command is up, a portion of it having kept a short distance in the rear, so as to divide the Grazing & C, which with one or two exceptions was unnecessary— here we are encamped in a beautiful Valley surrounded by an hundred Hills rich in fine Grass, enough for thousands of Animals— in the midst of the Valley is a beautiful lake of pure water fed by many springs running out of the neighboring Hills— there is considerable timber on the Margin of the lake, and any quantity of Rock (limestone) for Houses, Fences & C— the soil appears to be rich and without great expense the Valley can be irrigated— the Hill sides would doubtless answer admirably for the cultivation of the Grape— At some time, not distant, this particular spot will be settled— . . . At night we went to the Camp of the "Freemont Association" to hear a sermon from a *Millerite*³⁵ who though uneducated, certainly handled his subject (The truth of the Scriptures) with considerable strength of reasoning— he did not touch upon the peculiar tenets of his creed, that he promised to do tomorrow, I imagine his audience will hardly agree with him as well, as in his first effort— whether he intends to fix the *day* and the *hour* for "ascension" is uncertain, but if he does I hope he will postpone it at least untill we have journeyed out of this uncivilized wilderness, and let us all join our friends, and *go up* with them— It was a fine scene for a painter—At night in the midst of a Camp surrounded by Wagons, Tents, fires, Horses, Mules and all the paraphernalia of Emigrants bound for a far distant land through an unknown Wilderness, suddenly to hear many voices joining in songs of praise to God, then the effective prayer, and then the word of God proudly and manfully defended and explained by one who pretended to no learning, and who no doubt sought according to his understanding to teach the truth— such must have been the scenes when the Apostles preached in the wilderness, and taught the truths of the Gospel. I will not soon forget "the sermon of the Valley" preached in the "stilly night," the dark Hills shutting out all save the starry Heavens above & the bright moon.

July 29 Sunday The principal occurrence of the day, was the morning and evening sermons of the Millerite, who labored hard, but in vain, to convince his audience that the end of the world was at hand (according to the

Prophecies) and might be hourly expected—he accounted for the *failure* in 1843 according to Miller, to the *incorrectness* of Ancient History as to the record of time, but contended that the error could not have been a very great one—I admire the mans earnestness and ingenuity but differ with him as to the *Modus Operandi* of Good Providence—Just at sun down, the cry of “a Bear a Bear” was heard in the Camp, Jo and myself sprang to our Guns and sure enough coming down one of the Hills, directly for our Camp was Bruin—We ran to meet him—he walked within 40 yards of us, I waived my Shot for Jo, he fired and missed, another fired with as little success, the third brought him down, thus supplying us with fresh meat, and no doubt preventing a stampede among our Animals as they had just been brought in for the night—All well in Camp except one old Gentleman who should never have undertaken such a journey and I fear will never end it—I mean Majr. Beaman³⁰—

Camp 26 July 30th Monday Left Camp No 25 at 6 A M—travelled as I estimate 25 miles to this Camp without water, believing from what had been told us that at or about that distance we would find large springs, but when night was on us, no water was at hand, and those who had been some distance ahead of us, reported no signs of the Springs— we had provided for the ordinary uses of the Camp, but our Animals were suffering, without the ability on our part to relieve them, still we must camp, there was no alternative be the consequences what they might—in this distressed situation, Providence, as if watching over us, was pleased to relieve our wants—A heavy rain fell, the Grass was freshened, and all supplied with Water—some may call this *luck*, I do not—to my mind it was an evidence of Gods watchfulness, and love for his people—We had a fine night—Man and beast were refreshed, and all seemed happy in the morning—

Camp 27 July 31st (Tuesday) After traveling about 4 miles caught up with the Army encamped in a beautiful Valley with abundance of grass and a plenty of water *from last nights rain*—no springs yet—there has been an egregious error on the part of the Army Guide or since his last appearance at Camp he has changed the route—we here encamp for the day, we think another days march will take us to the Pacos [Pecos] but of things ahead we are totally ignorant and must remain so, until the Engineers send us back word—Majr Beaman is very unwell to day—All else well—Have just heard from ahead, the Pecos is yet 46 Miles off, nearly making that difference in miles from what we were led to believe from the Engineers Party—this will no doubt be satisfactorily explained—perhaps it was found necessary for the purpose of getting a good crossing, one thing is certain, we strike the River much higher up than was contemplated, and as it is on our course no distance can be lost, yet it is extremely unpleasant to be ignorant of our whereabouts.

Aug 1st (Wednesday) Remained here in Camp with the Army, which was waiting for the return of an Express sent to the Engineers camp for information— he returned in the Evening with no news of Importance save that at a convenient march (10 miles) good Water could be had— An Express came up from San Antonio bringing dates from N.O. to 9th July— some of us wrote our family letters to be sent back, but the Express was sent off, without even notifying us of it— this shows a want of civility on the part of the Officers of the Army towards *Citizens* that is unpardonable— perhaps the[y] thought a "Chield was among them taking notes" . . . it will be many a day before we have another opportunity to write to our friends— Major Beaman much better, all beside in good health.

Camp 28 Aug 2nd Thursday Traveled 10 miles from Camp 27 to a very fine spring (Howards Spring) affording water sufficient for legions— the Grass here is excellent— the Army went forward late this evening, having to travel 30 Miles without water, and wishing to divide the marches go a part of the way today— tomorrow we will make a similar movement, and will be prepared to get along very well having some Barrels filled with water which will be shared with our Animals— All well— this is a beautiful encampment.

Camp 29 Aug 3 (Friday) Concluded to remain at this Camp to day³⁷ . . . The Indian signs, trails &C give evidence of a large party having encamped here, no doubt on their annual *stealing tour* to Mexico.

Camp 30 Aug 4 (Saturday) 17 miles from No 29, at a grove of Cedars, no water, grass poor, Our Animals did not suffer as frequent showers during the day moistened the Grass, and almost answered as well as Water, this I consider Providential—

Camp 31 August 5th (Sunday) 16 miles from No 30, on Live Oak Creek, (a fine stream) near its entrance into the Pecos—the grass only tolerable— We are now within 7 miles of the crossing of the Pecos— the Army is now getting over—a flat Boat is used for the purpose— the stream is narrow, deep, and rapid— to day our Wagon broke down, the Mules ran away but no damage was done that cannot be soon repaired— Fresh Indian Camps here— a party that had been gone some six weeks into Mexico for Mules for the Army, and for whom we felt great anxiety returned to day— they report the Indians as very troublesome in Mexico & other news not worth recording.

Camp 32 Aug 6 (Monday) Having got my wagon repaired early this morning, our party removed to the banks of the *Pecos* 7 miles from No 31— found good Grass the water is unlike any other stream I have seen in Texas, it is very muddy (as the name of the River indicates) but is soon cleared by stirring it with the Prickly Pear— some say it has a brackish taste, but I think it is slightly impregnated with sulphur and by no means disagreeable



CROSSING THE PECOS

From Bartlett's *Personal Narrative*, New York, 1854

to the taste, the stream is very rapid, and awfully *crooked*, upon the whole it is a natural curiosity, many old Indian signs at this Camp.

Camp 33 Aug 7 (Tuesday) This morning we swam our animals across the River, using a Government flat Boat to cross our Wagons, All got over safely and moved 9 miles up the Valley of the Pecos, camping on that stream, Grass fair—Water (from a Lagoon) clear but of same character as the River— I forgot to mention in the proper place that a woman of our party, gave birth to a fine Boy on the 5th at our Camp on Live Oak Creek, I suggested *Hard Times* as a good name for the little stranger— both are doing well— Army just ahead of us—All well.

Camp 34 Aug 8 (Wednesday) From Camp 33—9 miles, on the Pecos. Grass & Water of same character as before mentioned in the Valley of this River— here I ascended the Mountains, and was well repaid for the tire-some walk, the scenery beautiful, and some rare plants (to me) seen.

Camp 35 Aug 9 (Thursday) 17 or 18 miles from No 34—Grass & water same— here some fresh Indian signs, and here we leave the Pecos on our way towards the Rio Grande— the Valley of the Pecos is very pretty & shut in by lofty mountains on either side; the absence of fuel will ever prevent its being cultivated, All are rejoiced that we will now certainly move forward with more rapidity, provisions are getting scarce, some are entirely out— My mess can reach El Paso, but must calculate on living upon *Meat and Coffee*, bread is out and gone—\$1 per lb is asked for Pilot Bread— this I wont stand . . .

Camp 36 Aug. 10th (Friday) At a Water Hole on the right 18 miles from No 35— Water & Grass good— here at 4½ A M (Saturday) Major Beaman died— I have before spoken of him, and believed he would get well, but all remedies proved useless against old age and a complication of Mal-ladies— We burried him near the road (Right side) and marked his grave with a Cross bearing his name— the burial Service was read by Dr Cook (of the Fremont Association) of Louisiana— the ceremony, though in a wilderness, was very impressive, to see many hardy Emigrants bent on their knees around the Grave of a comrade in the wild wilderness, engaged in prayer to God, was to my mind one of the most solemn scenes I ever witnessed, We left our poor old fellow traveller with sorrowful hearts and moved to

Camp 37 Aug 11th (Saturday) 8 miles from No 36—at a spring named Ojo Sccondedo [Escondido] (Hidden Spring) the water of which is better than any before met with on our tour— Grass *miserable*, Here has been at no distant period a very large Indian Encampment, Some blank Checks on the "*Bank of Ireland*" were found as well as other things indicating too clearly that some party had been captured and probably murdered at this place³⁸— The spring breaks from the mountain with great boldness, but

immediately flows into an almost impenetrable bed of Water Grass rendering the stream almost useless for watering animals &C.

Camp 38 Aug 12th (Sunday) 20 miles from No 37 at the Omoalche Spring³⁹— a fine bold Stream runs from it to the north directly contrary to the course of all other streams met with— this is a singular circumstance, as both the Pecos & Rio Grande flow to the *East & South*— Many fresh Indian signs here, but I suppose they flee before the Army in time to keep out of danger of pursuit, a thing not thought of, as long as they behave themselves— A large *Wagon trail* apparently not a month old runs along the Stream, this was no doubt a party of Californians passing down to Precidio Del Norte on their way to California— We have fine water; Grass fair, but any quantity of Mosquite Beans, which our animals are very fond of, and is no doubt more nutritious than Corn—in taste it is similar to the Locust, in fact the Tree is of that family.

Aug 13 (Monday) Remain here to day waiting for the return of Col Johnson [Johnston] (Chf of Engineers) who left the party a week since on an exploring tour, seeking for a pass through the mountains to the Rio Grande— We are well contented, all well, and in good spirits— fish are abundant in this stream—Bathing delicious—Leeches abundant, whether they are equal to the imported or not I do not know, but they certainly go to their work as well.

Aug 14 & 15th (Tuesday & Wednesday) Remaining in camp, caught some fine fish this morning— Our animals wonderfully improved on the mosquite bean—I will endeavour to save some seed— All Well— Col Johnson not yet returned.

Camp 39 Aug 16 Thursday 27 miles from No 38— this was a long and fatiguing march— at 10 miles we came to a beautiful spring called the Leone or "Basin" here we rested 5 Hours, and started to make as much of 42 miles as possible, that being the distance to Water— at 10½ P.M. encamped for the night on an open plain, with very little Grass and no Water, this was hard upon our Animals, as they had yet to make 25 miles to reach both— Saw some new varieties of the Cactus to day— Indian fires seen at night—not one has come to Camp yet—All well.

Camp 40 Aug 17th Friday After a long, hot, and fatiguing march reached this Camp 25 miles from No 39— Our animals were nearly exhausted, and some of them could not have gone any further— here we found a fine running stream of water called Lympia [Limpia] Creek and excellent Grass, the poor Horses and Mules are feasting gloriously— discovered a new kind of Grass to day—preserved some seed— All well.

Camp 41⁴⁰ Aug 18 (Saturday) Remained to day to recruit, and give our tired Animals rest— here the appearance of the Country begins to change— thus far the Mountains have presented no remarkable appearance, now they are wild and rugged beyond description, appearing to have

been rent assunder by convulsions, leaving immense Walls, chasms, and Valleys, all very new to Men who have seen nothing but their own Green Hills in the Old States . . .

Camp 42 Aug 19 Sunday 10 miles from No 41 on the same stream— Good Grass and Water— during the day I went off the road to see the mountains & C— found some Copper ore & a *fine spring*, and was much interested— Saw many new flowers and preserved some seed—this Camp is in a fine valley shut in by rugged *perpendicular* hills of rock from 1500 to 2000 feet high⁴— some rare varieties of the Cactus to day, and one of the Maguay, decidedly the *Captain* of all I have seen— It has a broad scolopped leaf, fringed with a single row of Thorns, I would rejoice if it were possible to send one home— to morrow will endeavor to procure some of the seed— Yesterday the Thermometer stood at 104° in the shade— this hot weather makes our progress slow & unpleasant but we must bear it.

From Lavaca	628	)
		)
" S. Antonio	468	)
		)
" Pacos	145	)

Camp 42 Continued Aug 20th (Monday) Here we remain to-day waiting on the Road Makers— we are near the dividing Ridge between the waters of the Pacos & Rio Grande, our next march will be to cross from the Valley of the former to the latter, it is said the passage will not be difficult— procured some seed of the Maguay spoken of yesterday, This Evg a party start to El Paso to procure provisions & C— it will probably take them *six days*, we expect to reach it in *12*— . . .

Camp 42 (Continued) Aug 21st (Tuesday) Still waiting on the Engineers, it is however understood that we move tomorrow and will have no more delays, but this is an old tale and not to be relied upon, the fact is the route *is a failure* and cannot be bolstered up by false representations— the weather is excessively hot, and even in our Tent is almost insufferable— pent up in a narrow valley this is not to be wondered at—we hope in a day or two to get upon the plains again

Camp 42 (Continued) Aug 22nd Wednesday Remaining in Camp, the want of road to next water preventing further progress— this morning I went angling, in a beautiful basin of Water 2 Miles above the camp, caught in a very short time, 70 to 80 fine perch, affording a good and welcome supply for four or five messes— in this stream (Lympia) it is remarkable that no other fish than the Perch is found.

Camp 43 Aug 23 Thursday 10 miles from No 42 on the Lympia— the road to day lay through a narrow valley, watered by the Lympia— the road bad at the crossings, but it was an interesting march, the scenery being truly

magnificent and our eyes gladdened by the sight of many fine trees, a rare thing on this road— as we approach the Valley of the Rio Grande, the whole appearance of things is changing for the better— After reaching Camp went angling, caught in a short time about 100 *Perch*, this was rare sport for one as fond of fishing as myself, I wished for my boys—they would have enjoyed the sport very much—All well.

Camp 44 Aug 24 Friday 5 miles from No 43 on the "Lympia"— soon after leaving No 43 we left the Valley, ascending to the plain where we found a good road, the short distance to-day, was owing to the uncertainty of water ahead short of 30 miles, it was found during the day about half that distance, but too late to go ahead until tomorrow— to the left of the road, soon after leaving the Valley, a lake is to be seen—it looks beautiful in the distance, but is unfit to drink and unhealthy looking (apparently rain water) . . .

Camp 45 Aug 25th Saturday This morning we left the Lympia and traveled 20 miles to a Water hole, which we reached at 9 P M, having stopped 3 hours at the 15 mile place, where the water was unfit for use— at this Camp the Grass is inferior—during the day passed through immense *Prarie Dog Villages*, they are nothing more than Ground Squirrels, resembling very much the Fox Squirrel, and in taste precisely similar—they make an excellent stew.

Camp 46 Aug 26 Sunday At a water hole 14 miles from No 45 in Company with the Engineers having got ahead of the main body, where we hope to remain for the few days yet necessary to take us to El Paso— the Grass & Water good— most of the road to day very rough— passed a Mountain of White Marble on the right of the road— these water Holes are not permanent.

Camp 47 Aug 27 Monday 18 miles from No 46 on Creek⁴² which (being high) is a fine bold stream, which at no great distance empties into the Rio Grande— the distance from the Lympia to this stream is 54 miles— no intermediate water can be depended upon in dry weather— here the Grass is inferior and scarce for this Country, but in the States it would be called good— A portion of the road to day lay thro a rocky chapparal and was hard upon the Wagons & Animals, Immense forests of the "Spanish Bayonet" (some bearing ripe fruit) constantly in view— I preserved some seed— Saw some Mountain Goats and English Hares but could not get a shot—All well.

Camp 48 Aug 28 Tuesday 4 miles from No. 47 on same Creek where I moved on account of the Grass, leaving the Army, Engineers & Californians behind— Our Animals fared sumptuously on Mesquite, Gama & other grasses— In the evening the army came up to our neighborhood.

Camp No 49 Aug 29 Wednesday 8 miles from No 48 on same creek in Company with the Engineers and Capt Bowmans⁴³ train— this morning

I went gunning, saw a good many Plover but they were too wild to approach within Gun Shot, just as I got to a Dog Village a large Wolf walked leisurely towards me, I snapped three times at him, my Gun refused to fire, finding myself in a *bad fix*, I retreated to Camp, procured my horse and returned, two then appeared, but started for the Mountains; I after them, it was a fair open race on the Prairie, I gained upon them for awhile but my poor weary horse, having yet many hundred miles to go, was not to be treated thus, so I gave up the Chase, saw a very large & recent Indian Encampment on the road— A party that was sent forward to El Paso returned this morning and brought the unwelcome news that we are still about *170 miles* from that place,—this is certain evidence that *gross ignorance*, or *wilful design* has governed those who induced the Government to make a road this route— Some of the Californians are entirely out of provisions, what the poor fellows will do I know not— none of us have any to spare, but will of course help them all we can— last night the Beef Contractor lost all his Cattle if he should not find them again, there will be great suffering, I much fear the Indians stole them, as many fresh signs are seen in the neighborhood— Provisions are scarce and high at El Paso— we must hasten on our journey to the promised land, where we hope to arrive some of these days, and once more eat among white folks, after white folks fashion—All well.

Camp No 50 Aug 30 Thursday 19 miles from No 49 without water—to-day the weather suddenly changed, becoming very cold and rainy, making our over coats necessary to comfort, during the day, and a close tent and plenty of Blankets during the night— Grass very inferior— between this and the last Camp, about 8 miles from the latter on the left of the road is a small water hole⁴⁴—doubtful if permanent.

Camp 51 Aug 31st Friday 12 miles from No 50 at a spring on the left of the road⁴⁵— it is doubtful as to its permanency, indeed from our last encampment on the Lympia to this place, a distance of *95 miles*, no permanent water can be depended upon— Killed a very large Rattle Snake while out hunting— Inferior Grass here.

Camp 52 Sept 1 Saturday 18 miles from No 51 on the Prairie— no water & poor Grass shot a large Rattle Snake.

Camp No 53 Sept 2 Sunday 15 miles from No 52 on the *Rio Grande*, this has been a hard days march, a portion of our way laying through the bed of a dry Ravine of rocks— had the wet season been at hand, we could not have passed, this is additional proof of the impracticability of this route— Our animals were greatly suffering for water— from this to El Paso we travel up the Valley of the Rio Grande & hope our sufferings for water are over— Grass fair— distance *back* to permanent water *113 miles*, but for the rains we would have lost all our Animals and perhaps been famished ourselves— this is a *shameful route*, and I have no doubt the Government will so pronounce it— All well.

Camp No 54 Sept. 3rd (Monday) 15 miles from No 53 on the Rio Grande, grass fair— extremely hot— Met two Mexican Carts from the El Paso Valley loaded with Grapes, Peaches, Apples, Onions & C— After upwards of 3 *Months* living on Meats altogether, we greedily devoured these luxuries without fearing Cholera or any other malady— the Army yet behind, will no doubt do likewise— Jo was kicked by a Mule but not seriously hurt—

Camp No 54 Sept 4 (Tuesday) 18 miles from No 53, on the Rio Grande— Grass excelent— Small Game (Prarie Hens, Top Knot Patridges & C) abundant— I was thrown from a Mule this morning, but received no other injury than a sprained finger—

Camp 55 Sept 5 Wednesday On the Rio Grande 19 miles from No 54 about one mile from the road (left hand side) Grass good— to day met several fruit wagons, going to meet the Army, we again feasted to our hearts content— tomorrow we expect to reach the settlements on Island, said to be inhabited by Mexicans & Puebla Indians, and to be very fertile and productive even under their rude cultivation—

Camp 56 Sept 6 Thursday 12 miles from No 55 on Precidio Island, at the Rancho of Senora Duran in the Village of *Islata* [Isleta], (passing through the Villages of Precidia & Secora) where we have concluded to remain for some days, to fit out anew for our journey down the Gila. We have rented a room in the midst of a Vineyard, Fruit Trees & C for \$3 *per month*, including the "*run of the Ranche*" (we will eat Grapes enough to amount to twenty times that sum) and have our Mules & Horses attended to and Grazed for 25 *Cents a head pr month*— this is moderate enough but is greatly over-balanced by the enormously high prices asked for Provisions—Flour (unsifted) \$8 to \$10 pr 100 lb—Beans \$4 pr 100 lb.—Bacon none—Beef scarce and high—Sheep \$2 to 2.50 per Head—Goats about the same— A good and industrious American farmer, with a few Hands, could make a fortune here in a few years— the soil is rich, easily irrigated, and can be cultivated with great ease—land is very cheap, and many of the Mexicans are anxious to sell out—scarcely any Vegetables are raised—Cotton & sugar can be grown successfully indeed any and every thing— The Inhabitants are very indolent, possess none, or very few implements of husbandry, indeed it seems that their Crops Grow without cultivation— Ploughs are unknown—a heavy unwieldy hoe is used instead— it is astonishing to walk through the fields, and see how luxuriant and healthy every thing looks—the Grape Vines are filled with fruit, as well as the Peach, Apple, Pear & Quince trees—the Corn is excellent, and the Grain unusually full— As soon as we got our Baggage stored away, and our tents pitched the Natives commenced visiting us, Men Women & Children, they appear to be very harmless, but having the name of *thieves* we watch them closely—A small party are living within a few yards of us—they seem to do nothing but cook Tortilliers [tortillas] & red

pepper which with fruit (having no meat) seems to be their only food— Tortilliers is a sort of Cake made of unsifted meal and used by these people as Corn Bread is in the United States. . . .

Camp 57 Sept 10 Monday 15 miles from No 56 at "Coons Ranch"⁴⁶ on the Rio Grande, opposite El Paso, where we find *no grass*— Corn at \$5 pr Bushel & every thing you want to buy in proportion, while all you have to sell is a drug [on the market], I am heartily sick of such a Country— Visited El Paso—it is a miserable place, nothing to eat for Man or Beast—the citizens lazy, mean & thieving, I am greatly disapointed in this place, it has always been represented as an Eden— I am sure Old Adam would not have thought so, barring the fine Grapes & other fruit.

Camp 57 Continued Sept 11th Tuesday Remaining here for rest & C— It was my original intention to go to California Via the Rio Gila, San Diego & C but as no Gold has been discovered on that River and as little known of the Route as when Genl Kearny descended it and the imposibility of procuring such supplies and necessities as are requisite for *another experimental* journey I have concluded it best to go by City of Chihuahua (Che-waw-wah) and thence to Mazatlan, as time and money can be saved (the departure of the Hila party depending on circumstances) I therefore will sell my Wagon & Animals, and strike off according to the dictates of my own judgment being determined not to be a *follower* any longer.

THOMAS B. EASTLAND'S EL PASO LETTER

El Paso Del Norte. (Mexico)
September 11th 1849

My Dear Wife

Ninety Seven days, of irksome delays and travel, since leaving San Antonio, have at length brought us to this place—distance according to my own *daily* estimates, 693 miles, over a trackless, and hitherto unexplored wilderness, following in the wake of an Army, whose slow movements, were made slower still by the Engineers and Road Makers in advance, who had to feel their way cautiously over vast plains, and through mountain passes— Yesterday morning we pitched our tent on the American side of the Rio Grande, opposite to, and some Two Miles distant from this place at "Coons' Rancho" where no doubt, will be established the principal Post on the Frontier of New Mexico, as it commands the great thoroughfare through which must pass the travel and commerce from N to S and Vice-Versa for many years to come—This *Rancho* was settled soon after the Revolution, and is well improved, having a number of well built *Adobe* (Mud) Houses upon it, two large Vineyards, an Orchard, several fields, and is well irrigated—the tract contains a league, or near 4500 Acres of Land, Mr Coons (a young

Merchant from Missouri) lately purchased it, as I understand for about \$18,000—he has leased the main buildings and six acres of ground to the Government for \$4200 per annum, he intends laying off a town, which from its superior position, backed by American enterprize, will completely destroy the Mexican town of El Paso—

The Army is encamped for the present, some six miles below, on account of having a wider range for the many hundred animals, which are in sad plight, and need recruiting after so long a march—in a few days however, it will move up, and go into quarters, where I imagine they will not long repose, as the neighboring tribes of Indians, particularly the *Apaches*, are very troublesome, and swear eternal hostility, of course Uncle Sam must take his rod out of pickle, and teach them obedience—I understand that they bitterly complain at our Treaty stipulation with Mexico, to protect that Government from their Marauding incursions, and boldly ask “What are we to do if we are to be deprived of that immemorial privilege of our race, to *steal* all the property we want from the Mexicans, and make of their Nation as many captives every year, as answer our purposes? We dont know how to work, we cant plough, and sow and reap as the white men, nor we cant learn—our Men Women and Children, have been *educated to live by stealing*, and we will not submit to the Government of the U.S. in thus meddling with *our institutions*,”—so you see, nothing short of their entire subjection, will ensure security to either the Mexicans, or our own people on the Frontier.—How this is to be effected belongs to the *wisdom of the Nation* at Washington—the swamps and everglades of Florida afforded not half the secure shelter to the Seminoles, as do the Mountains of New Mexico to the Indians inhabiting them—the Government will doubtless profit by the many fruitless attempts to conquer the former, in concluding, as to the mode of warfare, best calculated to subdue the latter—The Indians care nothing for Infantry, and laugh at the idea of such a force being sent against them—even if the Indians were not mounted, it would be fruitless to attempt pursuing them on foot, in their own native mountains, every inch of which is familiar to them—It would be almost as useless to send *Regular* organized troops of Cavalry against them, for it is well known that in this mountainous country, all science of War is set at defiance in fighting Indians; and that all the appurtenances of a soldier’s outfit for Campaigning, should be his Horse, Saddle, Arms, and a *little wallet of Bread and Meat*, or *Corn* as the case might be, ready at a moments warning for any kind of fight whether on the Mountain Tops, narrow passes, deep ravines, by day or by night—The *Texas Rangers* are alone fit for this kind of warfare, the Indians know them and fear them. and acknowledge no other superiors or equals, they *track* equal to blood-hounds, and can pursue the enemy to their Mountain fastnesses—one or two Regiments of these men can subdue the hostile tribes of New Mexico in a twelvemonth,—the Regular Army, as brave and as gallant as

it is, cannot do it in as many years—it does not contain the *materials* for that kind of *unscientific* fighting—the Florida War, in point of duration and expense, might be eclipsed by this, if conducted after the same manner—experience has taught us that *Military Science* alone in Indian fighting, cannot be depended upon for certain success,—All the great Indian fighters of the past and present day, testify that Indians can be fought successfully, only after their own fashion—the many Indian Battles of Texas and its borders, were fought, not by men who were bred to Arms, but by *hardy back-woodsmen*, who understood their character, their manner of fighting & C & C—ambush for ambush—tree for tree—hand to hand—rough and tumble, knock down and drag out and a perfect “own hook” sort of business, *Colonels, Majors, Captains* and all, until the fight was over—this is the safe, sure and *economical* way to conquer the powerful Cumanches, Apaches and other tribes, which until subdued will give great trouble, and do incalculable mischief on our new frontier, and among our neighbors, whom we have *guaranteed* to protect, 'tis useless to make treaties with them, they will violate them at pleasure, *entire subjection*, is the only alternative, then *dictate* laws for their Government, and a few troops scattered among them, will insure peace on our borders, and the work of civilization will commence and prosper as with the Cherokees Choctaws & C. Col. J. C. Hays Sub-Indian Agent for the River Gila, came up with us from San Antonio—it is his intention to visit the tribes as far as possible but has no idea of being able to make a satisfactory report, while the present state of things exist.

The Southern route (the one I traveled) from San Antonio to this place, lies between parallels 29° 40' & 32°, general course—W.N.W.—over a country, which, for agricultural purposes, is almost totally worthless, not on account of the soil, for generally that is good, but on account of the great scarcity of Timber & Water—At a few points on Water Courses, extensive settlements might be made, but they would be few and far between. As a stock growing country it cannot be surpassed on the habitable globe, fine Grasses of various sorts, crowd the Valleys and Mountains, throughout the whole distance, and *this is perpetual*, A man who would be content to give up Society, and *risk his scalp*, might in a few years behold his cattle “on a thousand Hills” and be well rewarded for his labor and privations—there are some fine streams on this route, Viz the Rivers Nueces [Nueces]—Las Mores [Moras], Frio, Sabinal, Devils River, San Phillippe [Felipe], San Pedro, Pecos, Turkey Creek, Elm Creek, Lympia Creek & C & C, and a few fine springs, but in many places Water is very scarce, and at great distances apart, and must ever remain so, unless it can be obtained by boring—Game, particularly Deer Bear, and Turkeys, is very abundant, for about one half the distance, when it suddenly becomes scarce, and finally seems to disappear altogether except now and then, a few antelopes wild as the wind, are seen afar off on the plains. The streams abound in Fish—Trout, Bass, Perch of

enormous size, and the Black and Blue Cat being most comon. I had some fine sport angling, and frequently returned to Camp with an abundant supply for many messes besides my own. The Trout and Perch were the largest I ever saw, of the latter I caught a new species, of very large size, having a head similar to the Buffalo, Should P——n come this route, and find these splendid fish I should have but little hope of his getting any further but should expect to hear of him, years hence, rod in hand, grown fast to a ledge of Rock. The Road in *dry* Weather is perhaps unequalled on the Continent, I believe from the Gulf of Mexico to this point, a wagon might be driven the whole distance (about 850 miles) by an expert Teamster, without *locking a wheel*. In *wet* Weather the case would be far diferent—Many of the Praries contain what is called "*Hog Wallows*" which is a succession of rotten and firm earth, the former cutting down to the axle and making a series of short hills and hollows so abrupt, as to prevent an ordinary team from making the least progress. Again, the Road as at present made, runs, in many places in the dry beds of Rivers, Creeks, &C., which during the rainy season fill with Water to the depth of many feet, spreading over the low lands, and making for the time being, large and impassable sheets of water—the indefatigable Engineers, Col. Johnson and Lt. Smith, under whose direction and supervision this road was made, no doubt did all they could do (a large command being in their rear anxious to reach El Paso) under the circumstances, but it is an incontrovertable fact, that, as at present constructed, the road is not a *practicable* one, in any other than *dry* weather, and *then* there is great risk of suffering for Water, even by horsemen, who have the advantage of passing with much greater rapidity from point to point, than teams of Mules or Oxen—We frequently had to encamp without water—on one occasion, after a hard days march, night overtook us, and not a drop of Water could be found, the *hole* we depended upon having dried up—Our poor Animals cried piteously for it, indeed our whole party were suffering, most of them not having enough to make a Cup of Coffee, and the worst of it was, we knew of no Water for many miles ahead, and all began to be seriously alarmed for our Animals,—while standing around our camp fires talking about our situation, it became cloudy, and in less than half an hour, (and for the first time in many days) the rain poured down, giving us a full supply and filling up the Water holes all along the road until we reached a fine spring—thus kind Providence supplied our wants, and I doubt not, that every individual in Camp looked upon it as a special dispensation of God's goodness to his Children in the Wilderness—this was not the only time we escaped suffering by being supplied from the same *inexhaustable fountain*—Travellers should always provide themselves with Water Vessels, and keep them well filled—A small barrel is easily carried in a Wagon, and Horsemen can swing a Can-teen or two (or Gourds) to their saddles—It will not do to depend upon

getting *provisions* on the way—for near *six hundred miles* of the distance there is not a single habitation—

The Timber along this route is chiefly Cotton Wood—Elm, Post Oak, Hackberry, Live Oak and Cedar, and mostly confined to the Water courses—I am satisfied that upon a well wooded section of Land in Tennessee, more good timber grows, than is seen *altogether* on this route, from San Antonio to El Paso—there are many *musquite* Chapparels, but the growth is generally small, and valueless except for fire wood—I have been greatly disappointed in the “Floral family,” of this region, very few rare flowers, except of the Cactus Tribe have been seen, though I searched diligently in every direction—I have gathered a good many seed, and with any others obtained, will forward to our friend P——d [Prichard] from San Francisco—The Dwarf Walnut and Buckeye trees, are both pretty shrubs, and will no doubt flourish in the latitude of Nashville—some of the Cacti are rare and beautiful—

If Dr. Troost had given me an order for specimens of Rattle Snakes, Terantulas, Centipedes, Scorpions, and “*sich like varmints*,” I could have filled it *completely*—we sometimes had them for *bed-fellows*—Our Driver and Dow Jr. were both stung by Scorpions, but did not suffer much—how the Scorpions fared, I dont know—presume they died—I had forgot to mention before, that the Engineers intend starting back in a few days, to examine, other, and they think nearer passes through the Mountains, by which they hope to shorten the road many miles, and avoid many of the difficulties encountered on it in coming up—there is indeed great room for improvement—As the matter now stands, public opinion, is greatly in favor of the *Northern*, or “*Fredericksburg Road*,” which according to Major Neighbors (Cumanche Indian Agents) is nearly *One hundred Miles nearer*, and from travellers accounts a much better road, and better supplied with water at convenient distances,—at any rate, much less time has been consumed upon it, than upon the *Southern road*, in reaching this point—I have conversed frequently with Col Hays, both before and since our arrival here, and he unhesitatingly says, that the *Fredericksburg road*, is the best—nearest, and safest—he has traveled both;—and relying much on his good judgment in such matters, I would recommend *all coming* to this country Via the Gulf of Mexico, to take that route.—

I am greatly disappointed in El Paso—it is a poor, miserable, dirty town, badly built, containing a population of some 5,000 Mexicans, and a few foreigners—the greater portion of the former are *Peons* or slaves, and as miserable a set of looking *greasers*, as you would see, *nowhere* else in the wild world but in this land of “*God and Liberty*.”—When the Abolitionists tire of their *labor of love*, in America, they ought to turn their attention to this Country—they may here behold the very “quint-essence” of slavery, *with “the bark on”*—generation after generation held in bondage, upon obliga-

tions of debt which can never be cancelled—A family gets in debt, cannot pay, they become the property of the Creditor, not only they, but all their increase even unto unborn generations, or until the debt is paid—a few dollars per year is allowed the Peon out of which he has to support his family, pay Doctors Bills &C, so that at the end of the year he cannot diminish his debt,—so it goes on until he gives place to some other member of the family, who in time gives place to another, but without having made any progress towards liberating his family, thus is slavery perpetuated in Mexico— in our country the *black Man* is the servant of the *White Man*, there is no *degradation of blood* in the matter—here, a large portion of the *Mexicans themselves*, the *free* and *independant* Mexicans, are the *slaves* of *Mexicans*, and bound by fetters they cannot break—the power of *wealth* over *poverty*—as for comfort compared with our slaves, it is folly to talk about it—just imagine a small *dirt tenement* 15 by 18 feet in size—dirt floor—dirt roof—dirt all over, filled with some half dozen squallid wretches, who perhaps never *tasted meat* in all their lives—half naked—louzy, mean, sheep stealing looking, ignorant (they have no schools) of every thing, and you have a faint picture of slavery in Mexico, Would it not be a fine field for the Negro-loving souls of the North?—If they would only divide their sympathies with the Seniors and Señoritas in bondage in this Country, it would not only be carrying out their principles of universal emancipation, but it would give the wooly headed darkies at home time to think some about “dar own affairs,” and go “possum huntin” as they used to do in “de good old times.” Dow says “he cant bar dese *Nigger Mexicans*,” he says “dey aint no whar long side ob de niggers in Ameriky,” and such is the fact, if one may judge from appearances and the lights before him—but to the town—

It is situated in a beautiful Valley near the Rio Grande, having around it a rich bottom of land, very fertile and producing with very rude cultivation, grapes, fruits, wheat &C in great abundance, there are a few well cultivated Gardens and Vineyards, but generally every thing in the appearance of the town, indicates a want of industry and taste—the houses are all *one story*, built of *adobes* (square pieces of sun dried clay mixed with straw)—their roofs are flat, and covered with the same material, being supported by wooden rafters or beams—the floors generally of dirt—the Windows have no Glass, but are left entirely open, being protected by Iron or wooden railing, let into the walls—the streets are lower than the comon level, and at this moment (a heavy rain having just fallen) a good sized Boat might navigate them with ease—there is only one Tavern, but nothing to eat—I called for supper, got poor coffee and poorer bread, the Landlord apologizing for the *scantiness* of his fare, by saying that it was *impossible* to procure *any meat*, but that some sheep were *daily expected*—a long while ago, Beef, Mutton &C. were plenty, but of late years the Indians have been so bad, that it is really difficult to procure meats of any kind—I am thankful that we have

plenty of good Bacon over at our Camp—The inclemency of the weather preventing Jo and myself from crossing the River, we had to take up our quarters for the night at the same tavern—our bed was a piece of matting, on the dirt floor, and our Horse blankets for Cover, a small bag of corn answering for our pillow—we slept famously though, not quite as comfortably as if we had been in our tent—

The *Plaza Publica* (public square) which is considered the *Centre* of all Mexican towns has nothing particularly striking about it, within it, stands the Parochial Church, an unseemly pile of *Adobes*, apparently built without any regard to order, or rather without any order at all. On the sides, stand the Barracks, (where a few companies are stationed, to keep off the Indians, which they *don't do*) the Custom House, other public offices, stores, dwellings &c—

The *Señoritas* of El Paso are a poor looking set—I have not observed even a passable face, compared with our American beauties—I have looked in vain for those “dark liquid eyes,” “long silken eye lashes,” and “fawn like figures” some travellers talk of—no such things in these diggings—all poetry—

On La Isla (a very fertile Island a few miles below this, some 25 miles in length and from 8 to 10 Broad, which by the late treaty with Mexico, belongs to the U.S.) there is evidence of great productiveness—the vineyards are loaded with Grapes, of the most delicious flavor, and the fruit trees (planted without any regard to order, and taken no care of) groaning under the weight of their burthens—The principal productions of the soil, are Corn, Wheat, Grapes, Peaches, Apricots, Apples, Pears, Quince, Onions, Pepper &c, all however show the want of proper cultivation—the implements of husbandry are few, and very rude—the land is alluvial and rich, having just enough sand mixed with the soil, to make it, pliant and easily to be worked—a few good American farmers could find no more profitable investment, than to purchase land on this Island—places already cultivated, with good houses &c, and well irrigated, (as is all the improved part of the Island), can be purchased for a mere trifle—titles unquestionable—Peons can be hired very low, with American treatment they would make valuable servants—the Army, and Emigrants coming in would be ready buyers, of all the necessities of life—the only Vegetables I have seen are Red pepper, Tomatos and Onions, the latter growing to an enormous size, and vastly superior to any ever seen in the States—The Wines if properly made would no doubt be very good, it has the flavor of Muscatel, though made of various kinds of Grapes, the particular varieties of which, I could not ascertain—the mode of making it is this, a quantity of Grapes are thrown into a long trough, the *unwashed* powers, of a dirty Mexican, is the press, by which the juice is extracted, which passes off into Vats, where it undergoes fermentation (purifying itself of course) and is drawn off for use—I drank none after seeing the operation—a kind of Brandy called *aguardiente* is also distilled from the grape—it is

very inferior in quality, and not at all palatable—On this Island are the Villages of Elezario, Socora, and Isleta, the principal inhabitants are Mexicans, though a remnant of the Puebla tribe of Indians are scattered amongst them—At the latter village we halted three days, for the purpose of recruiting our Animals, and making arrangements for the future—we stopped at the *Rancho* of an Old Mexican Woman of whom we rented quarters, situated in the midst of a Vineyard and Orchard at the rate of \$3 per month, *with the privilege* of consuming as much Fruit as we chose. I think my individual consumption of fruit per day, would have commanded in the Nashville Market, at least \$5—Within a few yards of our quarters, were encamped a small party of Puebla Indians, they are a harmless people, living entirely on fruit, Red pepper, Onions and a Mexican cake called *Tortillas*—we occasionally gave them a little Meat and Coffee, for which they seemed very grateful, they washed our clothes quite well, and seemed greatly pleased at making a little money in that way, the men do not appear very robust, nor do they seem a warlike people, they are by no means expert with the Bow and Arrow—The tradition of this people is, that Montezuma will return, and restore them to their original homes, with every happiness they can desire—they are Catholics and appear very attentive to the rites and Ceremonies of the Church—

From the healthy appearance of a few small patches of Cotton, choked with weeds, and apparently not at all attended to, I have no doubt it would grow to great perfection, with proper Cultivation—it is very scarce and high, from 20 to 30 ¢ per pound and a good market every where—two Crops of Corn can be easily raised—Melons, Strawberries, Cucumbers, and indeed all the fruits and Vegetables of the Vine kind—as well as all esculent roots, would grow here to great perfection—

No attention whatever is paid to raising, or improving the breed of stock, and yet it would cost scarcely anything, the range is extensive, and the pasturage perpetual,—one or two herdsmen could take care of many hundred during the day, and at night it would only be necessary to *Corral* them, for security against accidents &c—the fruit that falls from the Trees, would fatten thousands of Hogs,—as it is, it is suffered to decay on the ground, probably producing the Fever and Ague, which, as far as I observed, appeared to be the only disease among the people—it prevails during the summer and fall, and it is not unreasonable to suppose, that the enormous quantity of Vegetation constantly undergoing decomposition, has much to do in causing sickness—A good American farmer would turn all this to good account in raising Hogs, and at the same time do away with the cause of disease—The Mexicans know nothing about making Bacon, they have but few Hogs, and when they kill one, it is to extract the Oil or Lard, which they use, as we do butter—The American Merchants sometimes bring Bacon from the States, it is worth here from 25 to 50c per pound—The Army, Settlers, travellers, and natives to some extent, would be constant purchasers, ensuring

to the raiser a certain Market and good prices—Corn is worth, *now* from \$4 to \$5 pr Bushel wheat about \$5.50—flour (unsifted) \$10 per 100 pounds—Beef 10¢ per lb Sheep \$2 to \$2.50 per head, Goats \$2 and all hard to obtain—these prices are enormous, but they will be maintained untill a different class of farmers, with different means, come forth to till the soil, and bring from it, an hundred fold, what it now produces, under the rude culture of the indigent natives—*La Isla* is a charming Island—the climate is delightful, the water (when filtered) excellent, it is from the Rio Grande, which, by means of *acequias* or ditches, is conveyed to all parts of the Island, for irrigating purposes—It is a long way from the “*White settlements*” and I may look upon this Oasis, as I would a fine dinner at the Hotel of my old friend Col Hewlet after a long tour of Camp life, but I think not, the evidences of its fertility are before me, and I cannot be mistaken—

I have written hurriedly and disconnectedly, and about what I have seen as came uppermost in my thoughts, so you must put *that* and *that* together, and make the most of it—

You know it was my intention when I left home to take the Rio Gila in my route to California—such was my determination up to this time, but finding that, as little is now known of the route as when Genl Kearny traveled it—that no Gold has been yet discovered upon it—that the whole Apache Nation is up in Arms against the Americans—that many who took that route are supposed to be cut off, and that no supplies of any kind are to be had for many days travel, I have determined to change my course and go to Mazatlan, Via Chihuahua (Che-wāw-wah) and Durango—this, (as you will discover by examining the maps) is travelling far out of the true course, but it sometimes happens that the “furthest way round is the nearest way through” and I think it will prove so in this instance—I will sell my Wagon & Mules here, reserving only enough to ride—A large train of Merchant Wagons leave in a day or two for Chihuahua, by which I will send our baggage—my next letter will be from that City—Judge Ewing of Texas—Jo, Dow and myself, compose the party—the rest of the Californians are going to try a new route *between* Kearny & Cooks trails—they cannot avoid the great desert, and I fear will make a failure—I am tired of *experimental travelling*, and having a plain road before me, mean to travel it—I estimate 10 days to Chihuahua—15 thence to Durango and 7 thence to Mazatlan, where, from late, and reliable information, I apprehend no serious delay, in procuring passage to San Francisco—

Very Affectionately

Your Husband

THOS. B. EASTLAND

Mrs. Thomas B. Eastland
Nashville
Tennessee

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. The more popular northern overland routes have been described innumerable times. There were, however, many gold seekers who came to California through Texas, New Mexico and Arizona, and a very few who came as the Eastlands did through Texas and Mexico.

As early as August, 1848, the merchants of San Antonio, in an endeavor to hold the trade of West Texas, New Mexico, and Chihuahua, in competition with Independence, Missouri, had sent out an exploring expedition under Colonel John C. Hays, of the Texas Rangers, to find, if possible, a route to Chihuahua, via El Paso. Although he did not reach El Paso, but got only as far as Presidio del Norte, Colonel Hays reported that a practical wagon route to the latter place existed by way of the San Saba and Pecos rivers, and that he believed a road could be constructed from there to El Paso.

The discovery of gold inspired other attempts to find practicable routes through Texas to the Valley of the Rio Grande, which would connect with the wagon road that Colonel Philip St. George Cooke had made from the Rio Grande Valley to California in 1846-47. And the United States Government, in connection with its general policy of opening up the Far West to trade and settlement, the survey of routes for Pacific railroads, frontier defense and the survey of the southwestern boundary, sent out several reconnaissances, in addition to those sponsored by private interests.

In February, 1849, Lieutenants William F. Smith, of the Topographical Engineers, and William H. C. Whiting, of the Engineers, were sent out by the War Department to find a good route to El Paso for both military and commercial purposes. Their return route, which was approximately that over which the Eastlands traveled west, became known as the southern or lower route. In March, the citizens of Austin and the Federal Government sent out a joint exploring expedition under Major Robert S. Neighbors, the Indian agent, and Dr. John S. Ford. The route they followed on their return (which lack of space prevents our describing here) became known as the northern, or upper, or San Saba route.

By the end of the summer of 1849, several routes to the Rio Grande had been opened up: (1) from Fort Smith to Santa Fe, (2) from Fort Smith through northern Texas to El Paso, (3) from San Antonio and Austin to El Paso, via Fredericksburg, known as the "Emigrant" or "Upper" El Paso road, and (4) the southern route (also known as the "Military" or "Lower" El Paso road).

In June, 1849, a large company of emigrants left San Antonio over the Lower road. With them were Colonel "Jack" Hays and Thomas B. Eastland whose diary we print here. They were permitted to accompany a detachment of United States troops under Brevet Major Jefferson Van Horne (or Van Horn) that was being sent to El Paso to test the practicability of the Southern route. General William J. Worth had intended sending them by way of Fredericksburg, over the route recommended by Colonel Hays, but on the eve of their departure Smith and Whiting returned over the lower route with such a favorable report concerning it, that General William S. Harney, successor to General Worth, reversed the orders and sent the troops over it.

The lower road was finally chosen for the military road to the Rio Grande Valley; and Forts Clark, Hudson, Lancaster and Davis were erected on it. Cattlemen drove their stock over this route to California until better markets appeared elsewhere, and the first successful transcontinental mail—the San Antonio-San Diego Mail—was operated over it for three years or more, beginning in July, 1857. "Opening Routes across West Texas, 1848-1850," by A. B. Bender, in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXXVII, October, 1933; "California Emigrant Roads through Texas," by Mabelle Eppard Martin, in *op. cit.*, XXVIII, April, 1925; Owen C. Coy, *The Great Trek*, Los Angeles, 1931, pp. 215-19, 225-26; *Reports of Exploration and Surveys . . . for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean . . . 1853-56*, Vol. XI, 36th Cong. 2d Sess., Senate Ex. Doc., Washington, 1861, p. 58.

2. Information from letters of Thomas B. Eastland; Joseph G. Eastland; his son Thomas B. Eastland; Obituary Records, Society of California Pioneers; and H. H. Bancroft's *History of California*, VII, 758.

3. "Father arrived at Nashville from Washington on the 12th ult:—he had already determined on going to California, and taking me with him. . . . We go from this place to San Antonio Texas (where we join a party of emigrants under Col. Jack Hays of Texas) from there to El Paso del Norte on the Rio Grande, and thence to the head waters of the River Gila and down it to the Pacific— We left Nashville on Str. 'Josephine' and arrived at Smithland [in Kentucky, at the junction of the Cumberland and Ohio rivers] on the evening of the 22nd, we waited there until the night of the 23rd when we got on the Str 'Hindoo' ["bound for St. Louis with about 75 Californians on board"] to go to Cairo and there wait for a New Orleans boat; but we only got as far as Paducah where the 'Hindoo' got aground. We staid there until the evening of the 24th when we got on the 'Bunker Hill #3' and on her we arrived here on the 29th ult.—since when, we have been getting ready for our journey; we have a very good Jersey Wagon . . . and a first rate outfit taken altogether." Diary of Joseph G. Eastland, New Orleans, May 8, 1849, and letters from him to his brother Tom, April 22 and May 1, 1849.

John Coffee Hays was born on January 28, 1817, at Little Cedar Lick, Wilson County, Tennessee, the son of Harmon Hays. At the age of 15 he joined a party in Mississippi surveying swamp lands; at 19 he entered the United States Army as a private, on the Brazos River, shortly after the Battle of San Jacinto, and was soon singled out to act as a scout and spy. In 1840, when seventy-five men were enlisted at San Antonio as "Texas Rangers," to protect the frontier against Mexicans and Indians, Hays was appointed to command them. While with the Rangers he distinguished himself for his bravery in conflicts with the Mexicans in 1841 and 1842, and also in the Mexican War under General Zachary Taylor and General Winfield Scott. In 1848 he explored the route from San Antonio to Presidio del Norte, and now, having been appointed sub-Indian agent for the Gila tribes on April 11, 1849, he was about to start for California, leading a party of emigrants. The next year found him in San Francisco, where on April 1, 1850, he was elected sheriff. In 1852, Colonel Hays, with Carpentier and others, bought property in the southern part of Oakland, from Vicente Peralta, which they divided into lots and sold at a profit. After he retired as sheriff in 1853, he removed to the East Bay. He was appointed surveyor-general for California by President Pierce, and was later a regent of the University of California and a director of the Deaf, Dumb and Blind Asylum, in Berkeley. In Democratic politics he figured prominently, and was a delegate to many State conventions of the party and to the National Convention in 1876. He was a prominent Mason. Jack Hays Canyon, in back of Piedmont in Alameda County, was named for him. He died on April 28, 1883. His wife was Susan Calvert, daughter of Major Calvert, of Seguin, Texas, and John Hays Hammond was their nephew. *Contemporary Biographies of California's Representative Men*, by Alonzo Phelps, San Francisco, 1882, pp. 62-67; *History of the State of California*, by J. M. Guinn, Los Angeles: Historic Record Co., 11, 700-5; *California and New Mexico. Message from the President of the U. S.*, 31st Cong., 1st Sess. Ho. of Reps. Ex. Doc. No. 17, pp. 230-31; John Henry Brown, *Indian Wars and Pioneers of Texas*, Austin, n. d., pp. 335-36.

4. "I have determined instead of going to Corpus Christi, to get out here and go in the 'De Rosset' to Lavaca 27 miles distant, up the bay, and there procure my mules, and proceed to San Antonio; the arrangement secures entire safety from Indians (which is not the case on the other route) and will save some days of time, to say nothing of travelling through a settled country all the way—The cholera has been dreadful at San Antonio, many have died, among others Genl [W. J.] Worth—it was still raging at last accounts and I may be compelled to go around a few miles to where Col. Hays is, or was encamped. . . . In a few days I will be in Camp, and will write again by the Army Express. . . . Jo is out gunning this morning . . . he is a manly boy and makes many friends. . . ." Letter of Thomas B. Eastland to his wife, Josephine, from steamship *Fanny*, Lavaca Bay, May 17, 1849.

5. "On the 19th we transferred ourselves and baggage to the U. S. Str. 'De Rosset' Capt. Duke, and started for Port Lavaca, we staid all that night at Indianola, and next morning arrived at the Port. . . . We left Port Lavaca on the evening of the 20th and after passing through Victoria (where I met with Mr. Leovy who is with a company

from New York bound for California) Gonzales, & Seguin we arrived at Col. McClelland's 20 miles from San Antonio." Letter of J. G. Eastland to his brother, Camp San Pedro, near San Antonio, June 5, 1849.

6. We have 4 match[ed] dun mules for our carryall, and one for father to ride, while I have a Mexican poney, which I call War Eagle (having lately read *Prairie Bird*)." J. G. Eastland to his brother, June 5, 1849.

7. "Jo had a good supper for ourselves and *guests*, which was hardly through with, before a heavy rain set in, which continued all the night, completely deluging our camp, but doing no serious damage (thanks to our India rubber cloth which not only served to cover the baggage but formed a good Tent for Mr. Douglass [see Notes 8 and 18], Dow, and our driver, Jo and myself being snugly quartered in the Wagon, which is quite large enough for both of us, and altogether comfortable as a private bedroom)." T. B. Eastland to his wife, Camp No. 1 San Pedro River 1 Mile N. W. of San Antonio, June 3, 1849. The driver was John Morehead, whom Mr. Eastland had employed at \$25.00 per month, according to a note in the back of the diary.

8. "The Troops destined for El passo took up the line of march on the 1st. . . . We expect to reach El passo in 50 or 60 days—the Engineers sent out to survey the route, have just returned and report favorably . . . several officers of the Army take their families, and we shall not want for good society. . . . Our mode of living is very simple—we eat twice a day—cook our provisions on a brush fire, our Coffee is very good, so is our fried Bacon and Beef, as well as our Corn & Wheat Bread. We are never troubled with changes of dishes, and scorn any thing in the shape of Desert. . . . I have only 5 persons in my Mess, and will not increase the number, knowing that the fewer we have, the less will be the trouble & expense. Dow [see Note 9] does our Cooking, and attends to camp duties generally. I have a good man to take care of our Wagon and Animals, only troubling myself to superintend. Jo is on hand for any light service, and understands life in Camp, equal to an old Veteran. George Douglass [see Note 18] (a relation of Mrs. Dr (blackhead) Martin is very useful in many ways, and very obliging. . . . A gentleman has just arrived from town, and reports that Mrs. Hays (who has been sick for some days) is nearly well, and the Col doing all he can to get off tomorrow. . . . Independant of the Gold Mines, my prospects are very promising. Col Hays is Indian Agent for the Gila River, and will controll the gift of several profitable places, he has intimated to me that I should have my choice." T. B. Eastland to his wife, June 3, 1849.

9. Dow was evidently a slave whom Thomas B. Eastland had bought from his wife's father. (T. B. Eastland to his wife, April 20, 1849.) He is sometimes called "Dow, Jr." in the letters.

10. "A government train of 3 or 4 hundred wagons with about 150 troops of the 3rd Infantry [six companies, nearly 275 wagons and about 2,500 animals] are now on the road to El Paso. We expect to catch up with them in two or three days as we are able to go much faster than they. From El Paso on, the party will consist of about 200 Californians, able to whip 2 or 3000 Indians should we be attacked. San Antonio is a very poor place, a great deal like Matamoras in appearance. . . . If, as report says, there is plenty of gold on the Gila, I do not think we will go any farther but still in about 2 months write to us at San Francisco. . . ." J. G. Eastland to his brother, June 5 and 6, 1849.

11. Castroville was named for Henri Castro, who founded it in 1844. He was born in France in 1786, of Portuguese descent, and came to the United States after the overthrow of Napoleon and was naturalized. In 1838 he returned to France, and in 1842 became consul general for the Republic of Texas in Paris, and entered into the work of colonizing Texas. The colonists at Castroville were mainly Alsatians, who spoke German. Castro also founded the town of Quihi (about ten miles from Castroville) in 1845. "Diplomatic Relations between France and Texas," by Herbert R. Edwards, in *Southwestern Hist. Quarterly*, XX, 344-45, April, 1917; "The Relations between the German Settlers and the Indians in Texas, 1844-1860," by R. L. Bieseke, in *Southwestern Hist. Quarterly*, XXI, 118, October, 1937, and A. J. Sowell, *Early Settlers and Indian Fighters of Texas*, Austin, 1900, pp. 119-40. Quihi and Vandenburg, on this route, were also Ger-

man settlements. "Opening Routes across West Texas, 1848-1850," by A. B. Bender, in *Southwestern Hist. Quarterly*, XXVII, 116, October, 1933.

Following the year 1831 Texas came to be the goal of an ever increasing number of German emigrants, some of whom came because they wanted free or cheap land or thought it would be easier to make a living there than elsewhere; others came to escape undesirable political conditions in the German states, especially in the years immediately following the revolutionary periods from 1830-33 and 1848-49. "The Texas State Convention of Germans in 1854," by R. L. Biesele, in *Southwestern Hist. Quarterly*, XXXIII, 247-48, April, 1930.

12. This was probably Vandenburg, consisting of about twenty-one log huts, about seventeen miles from Castroville. Report of S. G. French, in 31st Cong., 2d Sess., House Ex. Doc. No. 1, p. 303.

13. Probably Dennis, 12.78 miles from Vandenburg and two miles below the crossing of the River Seco, on the left bank. S. G. French in *op. cit.*, p. 303.

14. See Notes 1 and 10.

15. "We reached this encampment to day, and will remain some ten days for all the Troops to concentrate, before proceeding on our journey, as it is unsafe for a small party like ours (about 30—) to attempt it alone, at least as far as El Paso, after that we apprehend no danger from Indians. . . . The Troops destined for El Paso are now on the way from San Antonio, we passed a detachment to-day which will be up to-morrow. . . ." Thomas B. Eastland to his wife, "Camp No. 8, Rio Leono, 90 Miles W of San Antonio, June 12, 1849."

16. "Leaving the Sabinal . . . the route continues its westerly course across the Comanche creek, and thus to the Rio Frio, 13.87 miles. . . . Thus far the road over which we travelled is known as Wool's or the Presidio road, and extends to the Rio Grande. But at the crossing of the Rio Frio the road to El Paso leaves it, and commences its course over the untrodden prairie. Bearing a more northerly course, it strikes the headwaters of the Leona above the site of the military post." S. G. French in *op. cit.*, p. 304.

17. This was Fort Inge, in Uvalde County, about 85 miles west of San Antonio. From here Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Joseph E. Johnston and Lieutenant William F. Smith, of the Topographical Engineers, with a small train of wagons, proceeded in advance of the main body to make further explorations and open a road. A. B. Bender, *op. cit.*, p. 124, and S. G. French, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

18. In New Orleans the Eastlands had been joined "by a young gentleman named Douglass of Galatin (a relation of Col. Hays, and also of Col. Douglass who used to live in Nashville) . . . he used to be a midshipman in the Navy, and is a right clever companion for us." Joseph G. Eastland to his brother, June 5 and 6, 1849. See also Note 8.

19. "The Lipans are a large and warlike tribe, extending from Zacatecas, in Mexico, to the Colorado of Texas. In fact, they rove from the sea-coast to the borders of New Mexico, and have as wide a range as the Comanches." John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua*, New York, 1854, I, 81.

20. Zoquete—a Texas-Mexican colloquialism used by freighters and other border people to designate a mudhole. (Footnote in "A Log of the Texas-California Cattle Trail, 1854," by James G. Bell, edited by J. Evetts Haley, in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXV, January, 1932, p. 214.) After leaving Elm Creek the party had passed the headwaters of Las Moras Creek and the Piedra Pinta. "The next water is the Zoquete. . . . At the point where the road crosses this creek it branches, one branch bearing the name of Maverick's creek." S. G. French, in *op. cit.*, p. 305.

21. See Note 3.

22. This was possibly what S. G. French calls the Arroyo Pedro, although the distance from the Zoquete would indicate that the Arroyo Pedro was Eastland's Meadow Creek. S. G. French, in *op. cit.*, p. 305.

23. The Devil's River was formerly called the San Pedro, and S. G. French so calls it in his report; but the expedition sent out by the citizens of San Antonio in 1848 under Col. Jack Hays had such difficulty in crossing it that they renamed it "El Rio del Diablo," or the Devil's River. John Henry Brown, *Indian Wars*, p. 105.

24. The Southern Pacific today follows practically the same route over which the party had traveled from San Antonio to Devil's River, but from there continues on parallel with the Rio Grande instead of turning north.

25. "Nearby is the only encamping ground in the vicinity. From some Indian paintings on the rocks it has been called the 'Painted Caves.'" S. G. French, in *op. cit.*, p. 306.

26. "The first water we found beyond the Painted Caves was at and near Pallos Blancos." S. G. French, in *op. cit.*, p. 306. French, however, gives the distance from the caves as 16.48 miles.

27. It is interesting to note the explanation for this name given by a traveler who passed that way five years later: "We passed the Palo Blanco Springs about noon. Arrived in camp at the California Springs six miles further. These springs derive their name from having been found and dug by some emigrants who were almost perished for water." James G. Bell, in *op. cit.*, p. 215. Randolph B. Marcy, in his *Prairie and Overland Traveller*, p. 289, lists California Springs as one of the regular camping places on the San Antonio-El Paso road, giving the distance from the first crossing of Devil's River as 18.27 miles.

28. "... We are up with the Engineers who are making the road . . . here we will remain a few days, until the Engineers make the road to and across the *Pecos* River. We are well supplied with Beef and Venison and are saving our Bacon and other substantial for the Gila. . . . I have gathered some seed of rare plants which with others I get, will be well taken care of—I have seen some beautiful varieties of the Cactus, and one entirely new to me. . . ." T. B. Eastland to his wife, "Camp No. 21. Californian Springs, July 9th 1849—200 miles N.W. San Antonio."

29. General Edmund P. Gaines was one of the oldest officers in the United States Army, having received his first commission as an ensign of infantry, January 10, 1799. He served valiantly in the War of 1812, in the Black Hawk War, the Seminole wars in Florida, and in the Mexican War. *The Mexican War and Its Heroes* (Philadelphia, 1850), I, 268-70.

30. General William S. Harney (Aug. 22, 1800, to May 9, 1889) had served with great credit in the Seminole wars, and in the Mexican War had been the ranking cavalry officer under General Scott. For his brilliant performance at Cerro Gordo he was brevetted brigadier general. On General Worth's death he had succeeded to the command of the Eighth Military Department (Texas).

31. On January 4, 1850, at Camp Salvation, on New River (about fifty-three miles after leaving the Colorado River), Judge Benjamin Hayes wrote: "Paid a visit to a small company we find encamped here with wagons and oxen. They are a part of the Frémont Association, of the city of New York, originally consisting of 50 men, of whom only about 20 are now on the road for California, the rest having become discouraged by the difficulties & delays of the road. The Association left New York nine months ago yesterday—started from Galveston, by San Antonio & El Paso, following the army & engineers engaged in opening the road. They left Cooke's road near Ben Moore mountain for Tucson, with a Mexican guide. . . . They are a merry, contented set. All of the above were from the city of New York, except Marshall, who is from La Grange, Texas." (Diary of a Journey Overland, 1849-50, by Benjamin I. Hayes, MS in Bancroft Library, quoted in *The Great Trek*, by Owen C. Coy, pp. 258-59.) Judge Hayes stated that Colonel Hays had been the leader of the Association and that their schedule showed Warner's Ranch to be 96 miles away. *Pioneer Notes from the Diaries of Judge Benjamin Hayes*, Los Angeles, 1929, p. 46.

32. Probably Israel Bush ("Fighting Dick") Richardson (Dec. 26, 1815, to Nov. 3, 1862), who had fought against the Seminole Indians in Florida, and had served in the Mexican War under Generals Taylor and Scott. For gallant and meritorious service during this campaign he was brevetted first as captain and later as major. *Dictionary of American Biography*, N. Y., 1935, XV, 570.

33. Possibly Samuel L. Allen, who in 1845 went to Corpus Christi as sutler with Colonel Twiggs's regiment. John Henry Brown, *Indian Wars*, p. 356.

34. At New Orleans they had stayed at Hewlett's Exchange, run by a Colonel Hewlett. J. G. Eastland to his brother Tom, New Orleans, May 1, 1849.

35. Millerites were followers of William Miller (1782-1849) who had announced in 1831 that Christ's second coming and the end of the world would be in 1843. The Millerites were later called Adventists.

36. "There was but one death in the California party on the trip, this was Maj. Beaman of Texas (formerly of Louisiana) he was the father of the Miss Beaman who . . . graduated at the Academy 5 or 6 years since—he was travelling in company with an old gentleman of Texas [Judge Ewing] who is now in our mess." J. G. Eastland to his mother, Chihuahua, Oct. 1, 1849. In a copy of the diary which he made in 1851, Thomas B. Eastland spells this name "Beauman."

37. The diarist has given this camp a new number, although they were apparently still in Camp 28. Usually, when no move has been made, he repeats the camp number and follows it by the word "continued" in parentheses.

38. "Near the head [of the spring] is a small space of ground enclosed with large stone. The guide tells me that four men, who were going to California, fortified themselves here and made a noble though unsuccessfull defence against nearly a hundred Indians." J. G. Bell, in *op. cit.*, p. 222.

39. Probably Comanche Springs. "The Comanche springs, situated as they are in the open plain, have long been a celebrated encamping place for the Indians. Here four roads may be said to cross at the same point: first, the great Comanche war path leading into Mexico . . .; second, Connelly's trail to Presidio del Norte; the route emigrants take from Fredericksburg to the Presidio; and the road from San Antonio to El Paso." (S. G. French, *op. cit.*, p. 309.) Fort Stockton was located at the Comanche Springs on March 23, 1859. Footnote to Bell log, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

40. Again a new number has been given to the camp, although they apparently were still in the same place as the previous day.

41. Probably Wild Rose Pass and the mountains of the Sierra Diablo. S. G. French, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

42. Probably what French calls Rainwater or Providence Creek, in the schedule of distances accompanying his report.

43. A. W. Bowman, Brevet Captain, Third Infantry, R.Q.M.

44. Probably what is marked "Van Horne's Wells" on some of the early maps, and now known as Van Horn.

45. Probably Eagle Springs.

46. Coons, foreseeing that the establishment of army posts would bring settlers to the valley, had purchased this ranch, and the army post, under Major Van Horne was located on it for three years, until the troops were removed to Fort Fillmore. Coons, a former Santa Fe trader from Missouri, withdrew his wagons from the Santa Fe trail and sent them over the lower El Paso route. He later drove sheep into California. Bartlett's *Narrative*, I, 192; II, 293; Diary of C. C. Cox, "From Texas to California in 1849," in *Southwestern Hist. Quarterly*, footnote p. 132.

PROPOSALS FOR THE COLONIZATION OF CALIFORNIA BY ENGLAND

*In Connection with
The Mexican Debt to British Bondholders
1837-1846*

By LESTER G. ENGELSON

INTRODUCTION

DURING THE decade preceding the Mexican War with the United States, the Mexican debt to British bondholders gave rise, directly or indirectly, to many rumors concerning British designs on California and to numerous reports of the cession of that province to England. The British press gave them attention, commenting on their lack of foundation or the benefits to be gained by England, were they to materialize. They were scooped up by alarmists and sent out in the American press with warnings to their government at Washington, plus added phrases on "Manifest Destiny." Mexican politicians played them up in their press to discredit the opposition, and they found their way into the jealous French press. One such report in the French *Presse* led to a direct question in the House of Commons as to its foundation and brought forth denials, by both the present and the past governments, of the existence of any correspondence seeking the cession of California.¹ Since most of the assertions during this period grew out of debt negotiations, and the proposals for British colonization were made in connection with terms of the debt, it is well to trace briefly the history of that debt and show its relation to California.

THE MEXICAN DEBT TO BRITISH BONDHOLDERS

The Origin of the Debt. In the early days of the Mexican Republic when her finances were in a critical condition, two loans were made in London, one in October, 1823, and the second in February, 1825, amounting in all to thirty-two million dollars. The interest on these issues was paid up to July 1, 1827, and then stopped. In 1830, the Mexican Congress planned to capitalize the unpaid interest up to April 1, 1831, and also half of the interest falling due up to 1836, by issuing new bonds. This arrangement, agreed to by the bondholders, added seven and a half more millions to the debt. Interest falling due under this agreement was paid up to July, 1832, but nothing was paid during the years 1833, 1834, 1835, and 1836.²

The Conversion of 1837 and the "Deferred" Bonds. In April, 1837, the Mexican Government proposed a new consolidated fund for the debt and the interest due. New bonds were to be issued for one-half of the holdings. The other half was to be discharged by land warrants or "inscriptions" giving the right to locate on vacant lands in the departments of Texas, Chihuahua, New Mexico, Sonora, and California at the rate of four acres for one pound sterling. The warrants were to be for not less than four hundred acres nor for more than ten thousand acres of land.

This proposal was accepted in September, 1837, by the bondholders, with modifications in the terms relating to the portion to be discharged by land warrants. "Deferred" bonds, instead of land warrants, were to be issued. Bearing no interest until October 1, 1847, these might at the holder's option be exchanged for warrants on vacant lands. Bonds not exchanged were to become interest bearing in 1847. This counter-proposal was accepted by the Mexican representatives in London and the agreement signed on September 14, 1837. As further security for the debt, the Mexican Government had proposed to hypothecate 100,000,000 acres of land in these northern departments. In addition, the bondholders asked that 25,000,000 acres be hypothecated in a region suitable for colonization with the nearest communication to the Atlantic. This was to be held open exclusively for location through the "deferred" bonds.³

Debt Developments and Negotiations, 1838-1845. The London agents, anticipating approval of the agreement, proceeded to effect the conversion. The Mexican Government disapproved it, however, as exceeding the authority granted in April, 1837, and further complications were added by French activities in Mexico in 1838 and 1839. In December, 1838, after urgent representation by the British Chargé d'Affairs, the executive recommended approval of the agreement of September, 1837, but Congressional approval was delayed until June 1, 1839. As approved, the amount of the debt now exceeded \$46,000,000, one-third of which was already converted.

Meanwhile, interest from 1837 remained unpaid and had accumulated. This was disposed of by an arrangement in London, in February, 1842, which, after diplomatic pressure, was approved by the Government in August. In proceeding with the conversion, Lizardi and Company issued bonds, including some covering their commission, to the amount of nearly \$55,000,000; this was well in excess of a maximum of \$46,236,890 contemplated in a governmental order of July 29, 1839. Responsibility for this was denied by the Government, but on December 13, 1843, it finally recognized the debt as \$54,573,730. Thus the Mexican debt grew and became a cumbersome burden.

In April, 1845, the Mexican Government, realizing the failure of the colonization project, endeavored to forestall difficulties to be expected when the "deferred" bonds began drawing interest in October, 1847. A law was passed for the "definite settlement of the foreign debt." Interest was not to

be capitalized, nor were the interest rates to be raised; the amount of the debt was not to be increased, and no national property was to be alienated or any territory hypothecated. War with the United States began while negotiations were in progress for the conversion of the debt on this basis.⁴

The Conversion of 1837 and Colonization. The colonization proposal of 1837 was primarily designed to reduce the foreign debt by one-half and to secure occupation of vacant lands. The selection of the northern departments from Texas to California was evidently motivated by a desire to secure British assistance, through bondholding colonists, in protecting her northern frontier from "ambitious designs" by her neighbor on the north. Since most of the bondholders were more interested in receiving cash than vacant land, the many negotiations on the debt and political developments in Texas, the region most desired, aided in defeating Mexico's attempt to preserve her northern departments.

There were, however, several sincere proposals for taking advantage of the "deferred" bonds, especially for the colonization of California. It was only natural that the press of jealous nations should interpret Her Majesty's financial support of the bondholders and known proposals for British colonization, or for the outright cession of California in payment of the debt, as bona fide evidence of British designs.

PROPOSALS FOR THE CESSION OF CALIFORNIA AND COLONIZATION BY ENGLAND

Forbes' Proposal of Cession and Colonization, 1839. In 1835, Alexander Forbes, a merchant at Tepic and partner of Eustace Barron, British Consul there, wrote the manuscript of his book on California. The chapter on "Upper California Considered as a Field for European Colonization"⁵ shows that he was interested in the colonization of California before the debt conversion of 1837 and the appearance of the "deferred" bonds. Delay in printing enabled him, in June, 1838, to insert his notable colonization proposal. Its appearance in 1839 led to considerable comment and numerous rumors, especially since he advocated the transfer of California to the British bondholders in payment of the debt, thus changing its sovereignty. Besides extinguishing a burdensome debt, Mexico would dispose of a "disjointed part of the republic," which could never be profitable nor "possibly remain united" to the Mexican republic, being to "all intents and purposes separated." This "would be getting rid of the debt for nothing."

If the creditors should accept such a proposal, and he thought they would, they might form a company similar to the East India Company with a sort of sovereignty over the region. With good management and an English population it would realize a revenue equal to the interest on the debt.

His brother in London, in a preface to the book, added that the plan was

worth the attention of the parties involved in the loan to Mexico and even of the British Government itself.⁶

Views and Reviews of the Forbes Proposal. Bancroft says that foreign interference in California of one sort or another was often talked about after 1836. Among these was the rumored cession of California to England in payment of the Mexican debt. In connection with the debt negotiations and the colonization features of the conversion of 1837, "there may have originated a proposition to cancel the debt at once." He had no official evidence of such, but stated that such rumors came to California from different sources and were "accepted and published as a fact by Forbes in 1839."⁷

Forbes' book was reviewed as early as February 23, 1839, by the London *Athenaeum*. It declined to discuss the author's scheme of colonization. Danger to England of Russian encroachment in California was discredited. "We should rejoice" at its settlement by a nation "whose activity and persevering industry" would render them "valuable neighbors." In the "Appendix Relating to Steam Navigation in the Pacific" was found Forbes' motive in writing the book.⁸ Perhaps Forbes visualized the commercial future of the Pacific and California's part in it.

With other reviewers Forbes fared better. The London *Times* held it "not merely very curious and interesting, but well worthy the attention of the English politician." Besides raising the price of Mexican stock and the shares of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company, it would "profit the public as well."⁹ William Kennedy, English authority on Texas, was satisfied that "extensive benefits must accrue from the possession of this neglected province."¹⁰ Similar approval was expressed by other periodicals.

The American press was naturally hostile to his scheme. *Niles' Register* had no doubt that "Mr. Forbes was employed by his government to give popularity to their scheme of territorial aggrandisement."¹¹ Mr. Warner, former American resident of Oregon, saw the ruin of prospects in the Oregon territory, should the English accomplish the cession of California.¹²

It was only natural that Forbes' book and comments on his proposal should encourage numerous rumors concerning the cession of California to England. However, the British bondholders were primarily interested in land in or near Texas and in November, 1840, asked the government to support intended colonization in that region. Palmerston, British Foreign Secretary, in general favored the scheme and instructed Pakenham, Minister to Mexico, to give it "friendly countenance and support."¹³

The Pakenham Proposal and Its Rejection, 1841. Official British interest in California first appears in connection with the "Graham Affair," and Pakenham, lacking real knowledge of California, was primarily concerned with British naval prestige in the Pacific.¹⁴ Soon after this he talked with James A. Forbes of California, later British Vice-Consul (often mistaken for Alexander Forbes of Tepic) and received several letters from Barron, stat-

ing the great value of Upper California. The journey of Duflot du Mofras, an attaché of the French legation at Mexico, through California, apparently aroused suspicions of French designs in that quarter.¹⁵ As a result he enclosed in a despatch to Palmerston a plan designed ultimately to secure California to England.

On August 30, 1841, Pakenham wrote that "It is much to be regretted that advantage should not be taken" of the debt arrangement "to establish an English population in the magnificent Territory of Upper California." Colonization features of the arrangement were stated. Plans made with reference to Texas, now independent, must be "considered a dead letter," while Chihuahua and New Mexico "are not eligible districts for colonization." In his opinion no part of the new world offered "greater natural advantages for the establishment of an English colony" than Upper California. Further, its "commanding position on the Pacific," fine harbors and excellent forests rendered it politically desirable that California "should not fall into the hands of any Power but England."

Details were given to show that it would be easy to form a company "for the establishment of an English colony in California" which would prove a successful business venture. An enterprise of that kind sanctioned and supported by Her Majesty's Government would soon find qualified persons ready to carry it out. The results would be a prosperous colony with English sentiments and also the attainment of a political objective. Though the colony at first would be nominally dependent on the Mexican Government, "this state of things would not last forever, nor . . . be attended with serious inconvenience."¹⁶

This proposition, molded by Barron and Forbes, evidently looked forward to a "Texas development" in California favoring England. At this time a change in government brought Aberdeen to the foreign office and his reply ended Pakenham's dream of an English California. Referred to the Colonial Office, Lord Stanley replied that he was not "anxious for the formation of new and distant colonies" involving heavy expenditures and "liabilities of misunderstanding and collisions with Foreign Powers" and was less prepared to recommend the vesting of a company with powers of sovereignty and placing of British protection afterwards. Aberdeen transmitted this reply to Pakenham without comment, thus expressing his indifference.¹⁷

A "little England" policy, evidently due to the revolt in Canada two or three years previous, lies behind this cool reception. Pakenham understood, quickly lost interest, and no further suggestions seeking to acquire an interest in California were made by either Pakenham or his successor, Bankhead, until nearly five years later.¹⁸ This proposal of course had no direct connection with rumored designs on California since it was not made public, but it is interesting to note that there were rumors that "England is now disposed to negotiate."¹⁹

Sir George Simpson on the Debt and English Colonization, 1842. In the years 1841-1842, Sir George Simpson, a governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories, made a journey around the world inspecting company posts and establishments. The visit of so important a person in California, in January, 1842, naturally caused considerable apprehension in the American press. It was generally admitted by then that California was destined for independence, the only doubt being whether California was to fall to the English or to the Americans.

In his narrative of the journey (not published until 1847), he wrote that England could not afford to acquire additional territory by "force or fraud," but she had one road open to her to gain California "without either the violence of marauders or the effrontery of diplomats." This was via the Mexican debt to British subjects. Assuming a share of the debt in exchange for the possession of California would not only relieve Mexico of a burdensome debt and benefit the creditors, but would be eagerly preferred by the native Californians "to the only other possible alternative of seeing their country follow in the wake of Texas."²⁰

Meanwhile, by the time he arrived in Hawaii he seems to have changed his attitude regarding the use of "force or fraud." He wrote his partner, Sir John Pelley, a letter evidently intended for the eyes of the government. After pointing out California's natural advantages, agricultural, political, commercial and strategic, he added that British residents who formerly hoped England would obtain California in liquidation of the Mexican debt now felt that it would be a sacrifice of money, for California could easily be acquired with a small outlay. The whole population was dissatisfied with the inefficient Mexican Government, which gave them neither protection nor assistance, and were apprehensive of falling into the grasp of the United States. He believed that with a little encouragement the Californians would declare their independence and claim British protection. Confidential communications convinced him that the presence of a cruiser, assurances of British protection and the promise of appointments to influential Californians was all that was needed. To stimulate interest and action he added that such a step favoring the United States would soon be taken if Great Britain did not act.²¹

This letter was forwarded to the Foreign Office and later returned to Pelley. The "little England" attitude toward Pakenham's proposal has already been noted; the government was probably equally indifferent to the suggestions by Simpson. Yet contemporary rumors told of British designs and activities in line with Simpson's suggestions. As a result, these rumors and desires caused both England and the United States to maintain large squadrons in the Pacific between 1842 and 1846, when previously one ship had been considered sufficient to protect nationals and commerce.²²

The "Tripartite Agreement" and California, 1842-1843. Rumors of the cession of California to England in payment of the debt led to similar plans favoring the United States. Early in 1842, this took the ambitious form of an effort to settle the three vexed questions of Texas, Oregon, and California through an arrangement between Great Britain, Mexico, and the United States. Probable terms would include the recognition of Texan independence by Mexico, the settling of the Oregon boundary on the line of the Columbia, the cession of Upper California to the United States, and a payment by the United States to Mexico of several million dollars for the cession of California, part of this sum to go to American claimants against Mexico and the remainder to English creditors or bondholders of Mexico. This ambitious plan was sponsored by President Tyler and Secretary Webster.

They hoped to secure San Francisco Bay through the "good offices" of England in using her influences with Mexico. Lord Ashburton, then in the United States, was approached. He thought England would make no objections to the cession of Upper California to the United States, were it voluntary on the part of Mexico. Ashburton never coveted California. Aberdeen in London told Everett, American Minister to England, that there was no objection to American acquisition of California, but he was not disposed to become a party to any arrangement. No action was taken with the Ashburton mission during the summer of 1842, due to pressure of other matters.

At the beginning of 1843 the idea was again taken up and assumed an important place in administrative plans. An outline for the basis of negotiations was sent to London and the Mexican Minister at Washington was sounded. Tyler felt the assent of Mexico to a treaty surrendering her title to California was all that was wanting, but the natural Mexican aversion to relinquishing territory, plus her increased hostility towards the United States as a result of the Jones episode at Monterey, put an end to negotiations on that point.²³

Wyllie's Efforts Towards Colonizing California, 1843-1844. Though the British Government lacked interest in colonizing California, many holders of "deferred" bonds were willing to speculate, the more so with the passing of the years. Most of these preferred a location on the Gulf of Mexico in the vicinity of Texas. The Texan Government in 1840 was even willing to assume one million sterling of the debt as an incentive towards the colonization of her vacant lands, also seeking British support through the colonists.²⁴ That Palmerston was willing to support colonization in this direction has been shown, and active support of a contested grant to one Beales was given. In line with this there came a rumor that "... England wishes to occupy the region between the Nueces and the Rio Grande (the seat of the Beales grant), so as to prosecute designs on California; ..." ²⁵

A number of bondholders, however, were more interested in California and saw a profitable future there. Among the most active of these was Robert C. Wyllie, who endeavored to swing sentiment towards that neglected terri-

tory. In 1843, he set about gathering information on California to be used in his book (report) on Mexican finances and colonization. He consulted Alexander Forbes and others and wrote a long letter to William Hartnell, an English merchant at Monterey, seeking information on twenty-four different points relating to the country, its land, its products, its trade, and its people.²⁶

In June, after their conversation, Forbes wrote a long letter to Wyllie outlining his plan of securing remuneration to the bondholders through the colonization of California. There was to be a land-tax on the present occupiers of land, equal to that paid by the colonists; free trade was necessary to nullify present restrictions on commerce. There were recent reports of gold near Los Angeles, also silver veins and valuable pitch; mineral riches were to be reserved to the government or company, preventing ruinous speculation. Agricultural colonists were to be preferred and a complicated form of government was to be avoided. Such a plan, carefully worked out to protect the settlers, would save California to Mexico, cancel \$25,000,000 of the debt and make that region populous—an asset to the Mexican Government. Wyllie printed it in his report.²⁷

In October, Wyllie addressed a long letter to Bocanegra, Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs, pointing out the great advantages to be derived by Mexico from the colonization of her public lands. The United States' method of disposing of public lands, which added an immense revenue to the treasury, was explained in detail and all its benefits were pointed out. Mexico was urged to adopt a similar liberal plan of colonization which would encourage agricultural Europeans to colonize her vacant lands. Proceeds should be applied to extinguish the public debt, thereby raising the financial credit of Mexico. Bondholders had failed to cash in their "deferred" bonds for land warrants because the Government had neglected to emit necessary decrees promised and sanctioned by the Conversion of 1837. Thousands of European immigrants to the United States had "fulfilled faithfully their obligations to their adopted country"; they would do the same for Mexico and at the same time protect the northern frontier from aggression. Outlines of his colonization plan were presented to other Mexican officials also.²⁸

In his report to the bondholders, Wyllie told of his efforts to secure action by Mexican officials, but found them hesitant to treat with any person unless he had power direct from the bondholders, binding them to consent without modifications to any agreement made. This was difficult to get because bondholders were continually changing. Wyllie himself had applied for land warrants equivalent to £10,000 in "deferred" bonds, but was told by the Mexican agents that they had no instructions as to the manner of executing the exchange. Attention was called to his outline plan for colonization, as well as to that of Alexander Forbes. Rumored British designs on California, in connection with "deferred" bonds, was denied. Wyllie was concerned over this misapprehension of British designs as early as 1840.²⁹

In April, 1844, Hartnell answered Wyllie's "twenty-four questions." He had also talked to Governor Micheltorena, who was friendly to the English and interested in sharing in the speculations.³⁰ Wyllie replied in November that in view of the American outlook on California, "the only power which could save California was Great Britain, and nothing could justify her interference so much, as previous grants of land . . . to British subjects." Hartnell was urged to be ready to grab all he could for Wyllie and himself if a crisis threatened, and if the Governor wished to favor them he could secretly have one-third of their share.³¹ No more is heard of the Wyllie plan unless the McNamara project can be considered an outgrowth of it.³²

McNamara's Plan of Irish Colonization, 1844-1846. Late in 1844, Eugene McNamara, an Irish priest, laid before Bankhead, British Minister to Mexico, a plan for the colonization of California by 10,000 Irish immigrants. Bankhead neglected for some six months to report it to Aberdeen, who received it in silence.³³

McNamara, however, was motivated by a desire to ". . . advance the cause of Catholicism . . . contribute to the happiness of my people, . . . [and] put an obstacle in the way of further usurpations on the part of an anti-Catholic nation. . . ." He would bring over one thousand Irish families, "the best of colonists," and establish colonies on the Bay of San Francisco, near Monterey, and at Santa Barbara. Each colonist was to receive one square league of land; land was to be hypothecated in payment of their traveling expenses. Customs duties at San Francisco for a period of years was asked. Claiming approval of the Archbishop of Mexico, this plan was urged upon the hesitant Mexican Government to save California from the "secret intrigues" of the "American usurpers."

Herrera approved his plans, though Paredes, who succeeded him as President, objected. He was advised to go to California, select suitable lands, and submit his project to the Departmental authorities. Accordingly he went to California, securing passage on the H.B.M. ship *Juno* and arriving early in the summer of 1846, and submitted his petition. In July the assembly approved a grant of 3,000 leagues, with some modifications of his original plan. It was located between the San Joaquin River and the Sierra Nevada. The date may have been fixed to make it antedate the raising of the American flag at Monterey on July 7, but it was illegal in other respects and was not pressed for recognition later.³⁴

Before his return to Mexico, he learned through Larkin, American Consul at Monterey, that the United States would not recognize his grant. He told Larkin that he represented a private company in London. It is here that there may be a connection with the Mexican debt to British bondholders. A company of speculators, perhaps bondholders, foreseeing the increased land values if the United States acquired California, may have sought to possess

as large a tract as possible.³⁵ Anyway, the activities of that "patriotic dreamer" are interesting and were much talked about.

The Mackintosh Plan to Colonize California with 500,000 Europeans, 1845-1846. Mackintosh, a British consul in Mexico and partner in the firm Manning and Marshall, worked out a plan of colonization, following the main outlines of that presented earlier by Pakenham, and submitted it to Bankhead in July, 1845. This project was drawn up in more careful detail than any other submitted to the British Government. Mackintosh "proposed to place 500,000 European colonists in California in twenty years with a view to turning over control of the province to England." He seems to have had Mexican support, for Paredes promised to give "every possible facility" for the execution of the plan.³⁶

The plan was forwarded to Aberdeen to ascertain how far the British Government would back it. London partners of Mackintosh were also involved and evidently consulted Aberdeen. No reply was given either to Bankhead or to the promoters,³⁷ but Aberdeen did speak of it to Thomas Murphy, Mexican Minister to London, while they were discussing ways and means of saving California from the American aggression. Aberdeen felt that it was too late to put the plan into operation and it would also be "unbecoming." It would give the United States ground for offense through its apparent intention of blocking her, and furthermore would be ineffective, after all, against American immigration.³⁸

England Passes up Her Opportunities in California, 1845-1846. As the opening of the Mexican War approached, England and Mexico became increasingly concerned over the future of California. While maintaining a "little England" policy as far as supporting projects for the acquisition of California went, Aberdeen did instruct his agents to use their efforts to discourage the "establishment of a protectoral power over California by any other foreign state." They were to keep "vigilantly alive to every creditable report" concerning the activities of American citizens, but were not to "encourage a spirit of resistance or disobedience in the inhabitants of the Province" against their Mexican rulers. James A. Forbes, British Vice Consul at Monterey, was reprimanded for his protest against Frémont's presence in California.³⁹

By this time Mexico, after long neglecting California, and England, whose opportunities had passed by, realized the value of California—only too late. American immigrants were taking possession. Murphy, in seeking British assistance in the expected war with the United States, tried every possible means of securing British interest. In November, 1845, he secured the assistance of Mr. Price, a partner with Mackintosh in the firm of Manning and Marshall, and J. D. Powles, vice chairman of the Mexican bondholders committee, in drawing up a colonization plan. A company, to be formed, was to purchase 50,000,000 acres of land in California and pay for it with £5,000,000

in "deferred" bonds and £1,250,000 in cash. The cash, to be paid to Mexico in installments, was to be borrowed at three per cent interest, Great Britain to guarantee the loan.⁴⁰ By this time the British cabinet was thoroughly disgusted with Mexico for refusing to recognize the independence of Texas and play her game, and Herrera's government had been overthrown, making Murphy's position insecure.⁴¹

In 1846, when war with the United States seemed inevitable, Paredes, who was now President of Mexico, proposed to Bankhead the transfer of California to England as security for a loan. This was considered an "indirect offer of sale," the first ever hinted at by Mexican authorities. Towards these prospects of establishing an English colony in California the Admiralty office was enthusiastic, coveting San Francisco Bay as a naval stronghold, and Sir Robert Peel, Prime Minister, was somewhat dazzled by them. Aberdeen's policy was adopted by Palmerston, again at the foreign office, and he was not disposed to enter into any treaty for California. He knew that by then, Mexican control over California was lost and she could not effect a transfer to England.⁴²

Even in the House of Commons this policy was upheld, though with some criticism. As a result of the French *Presse* report that Santa Anna's fall revealed negotiations to transfer California to England for 25,000,000 piastres, Wortley, in March, 1845, asked the basis for the statement and if there had ever been any such correspondence. The report was stated to be "utterly without foundation" and both Peel and Palmerston denied knowledge of any such correspondence. Later during a debate on the Mexican problem, Lord Bentinck and Disraeli criticized the administration's lack of aggressiveness and failure to protect the "bondholder's mortgage" on California, but several members defended the Cabinet.⁴³ The attitude of the English officials may be summed up in Ashburton's statement: "We certainly do not want colonies, and least of all such as will be unmanageable from this distance, and only serve to embroil us with our neighbors."⁴⁴

The attitude was not entirely popular, however, with the British press. The Mexican correspondent of the London *Times* made much of the value of California to England. Failure to interfere would mean annexation by the United States and the Americans would not stop there, but push southward, endangering British mining interests. Mexico might even become a part of the American Union. English control of California was necessary to check the United States and he saw the fate of Oregon decided by the possessor of California.⁴⁵ Other papers and periodicals backed this up and criticized the administration's spinelessness. ". . . An active minister, who had a forecast of the future, might secure it as an appendage to Oregon, our unquestionable right to which is too clear to be surrendered. . . ." ⁴⁶

Many other proposals for British colonization of California, besides these, were suggested by "would-be statesmen or patriotic dreamers," but none were

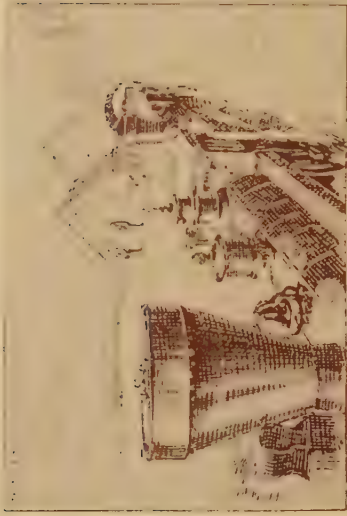
seriously considered. They merely added fuel to the pot that was already bubbling rumors of British designs, intrigues, and activities towards the annexation of California by England. The outbreak of war between Mexico and the United States ended the question quickly.

NOTES

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3. Manuel Payno y Flores, *Mexico and Her Financial Questions with England, Spain, and France, A Report* (Mexico, 1862), appendix, pp. 9-15; *London Times*, Aug. 9, 1837, p. 6; Aug. 10, 1837, p. 3, and Sept. 6, 1837, p. 1; letter of C. Cushing, quoted in article "California," by H. J. Raymond in *The American Review*, III, 88-89 (Jan., 1846).
4. Edgar Turlington, *Mexico and Her Foreign Creditors*, pp. 73-79, 90; Payno y Flores, *Mexico*, p. 28.
5. Alexander Forbes, *California: A History of Upper and Lower California*, pp. 309-25.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 152-53 and preface, p. vii.
7. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, IV, 109-11.
8. "California," *The Athenaeum* (London, 1839), pp. 151-52.
9. *London Times*, Sept. 6, 1839, p. 6.
10. *Ibid.*, June 18, 1841, p. 11.
11. *Niles' Register*, April 4, 1840, Vol. 58, p. 70.
12. "California and Oregon," *The Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal* (June, 1841), V, 236.
13. Ephraim D. Adams, *British Interests and Activities in Texas, 1838-1846*, pp. 50-52. See also Hamilton to Lipscomb, Dec. 3, 1840, in G. P. Garrison, *Texas Diplomatic Correspondence*, Part III, pp. 917-19.
14. Adams, *British Interests in Texas*, pp. 236-37; and *idem*, "English Interest in the Annexation of California," in *American Historical Review* (July, 1909), XIV, 745.
15. See Rufus Wyllys, "French Imperialists in California," *California Historical Society Quarterly* (June, 1929), VIII, 116-29.
16. Adams, *British Interests in Texas*, pp. 237-39; and *idem*, "English Interest in California," pp. 745-46.
17. Adams, *British Interests in Texas*, pp. 239-40; and *idem*, "English Interest in California," p. 747.
18. Rives, *U. S. and Mexico*, II, 50.
19. E. g., see *The Colonial Magazine*, V, 236.
20. Sir George Simpson, *An Overland Journey Round the World, 1841-1842*, I, 222-23.
21. Joseph Schafer, *Letters of Sir George Simpson, 1841-1843*, p. 89, reprint from *American Historical Review*, Vol. XIV (Oct., 1908).
22. Thomas C. Lancey, *Cruise of the Dale*, Cal. MS, p. 32.
23. This account of the "Tripartite Agreement" is based on: Robert G. Cleland, *Early Sentiment for the Annexation of California*, pp. 32-33, reprint from *The Southwest Historical Quarterly*, XVIII (1914-1915); Rives, *U. S. and Mexico*, II, 46-47; Joseph Schafer, "British Attitude Towards the Oregon Question," *American Historical Review* (Jan., 1911), XVI, 293-94; Justin H. Smith, *The Annexation of Texas*, p. 109; Lyon G. Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, II, 260-61.
24. Garrison, *Texas Diplomatic Correspondence*, Part III, pp. 909-10, 917-19.
25. Smith, *Texas*, pp. 154-55.
26. M. G. Vallejo, *Documentos para la Historia de California*, Cal. MS, Vol. 30, Nos. 349 and 369.
27. Robert C. Wyllie, *Mexico: Report on its Finances, etc., and Remarks on Colonization* (London, 1844), pp. 77-79.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 72-77.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-26; Turlington, *Mexico*, p. 89.
30. Pio Pico, *Documentos para la Historia de California*, Cal. MS, Vol. 88, No. 85. Hartnell's letter was printed in the Calif. Hist. Soc. *Quarterly*, XVII (March, 1938).
31. Vallejo, *Documentos*, Vol. 34, No. 72.
32. Bancroft, *California*, IV, 592.
33. Adams, *British Interests in Texas*, p. 253, also footnote 30.
34. *California Claims*, U. S. Senate Report, No. 75, 30th Congress, 1st Sess., pp. 19-25; Cleland, *Annexation of California*, p. 89, footnote 23.
35. Bancroft, *California*, V, 219-20.
36. Justin H. Smith, *The War with Mexico*, I, 524, footnote 8; Adams, *British Interests in Texas*, p. 253, 262.
37. Adams, *British Interests in Texas*, p. 253.
38. Antonio de la Pena y Reyes, *Lord Aberdeen, Texas y California*, pp. 42-47; Smith, *Mexico*, II, 302; A. H. Gordon (Lord Stanmore), *The Earl of Aberdeen*, p. 183.
39. Adams, *British Interests in Texas*, pp. 247-59 *passim*; *idem*, "English Interest in California," pp. 748-55 *passim*.
40. Pena y Reyes, *Lord Aberdeen*, pp. 49-54.
41. Smith, *Mexico*, II, 302.
42. Adams, *British Interests in Texas*, pp. 262-63; *idem*, "English Interest in California," pp. 761-62; Gordon, *Aberdeen*, p. 183.
43. Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, Mar. 7, 1845, Vol. 77, pp. 430-32, and Aug. 24, 1846, Vol. 88, pp. 978-95. See also Garrison, *Texas Diplomatic Correspondence*, Part II, pp. 362-64.
44. Ashburton to Sturgis as quoted in Smith, *Mexico*, I, 524, footnote 8.
45. See his letters to the London *Times*, especially those in the issues of July 5, 1845, p. 5; Aug. 6, 1845, p. 6; Sept. 9, 1845, p. 6; Oct. 6, 1845, p. 5; Mar. 13, 1846, p. 3. Also *Niles' Register*, Nov. 8, 1845, Vol. 69, p. 147.
46. *The Foreign Quarterly Review*, Oct., 1846, p. 69.

The California Historical Society has recently received three pamphlets relating to the Mexican bondholders: *The Foreign Debt of Mexico; Being the Report of a Special Mission to That State, Undertaken on Behalf of the Bondholders*, by W. Parish Robertson, London, 1850; *The Second Report of the Committee of Mexican Bondholders*, London, 1850; *Report of the Committee of Mexican Bondholders, Presented to the General Meeting . . . 26th February, 1855*, London, 1855.



SNOW-SHOE TRAVELING.

WINTERVIEW UPPER CISCO.

WINTER IN THE MOUNTAINS

MEADOW LAKE CITY AND A WINTER AT CISCO IN THE SIXTIES

From the Reminiscences of

CLARENCE M. WOOSTER¹

IN 1865 and 1866 a great stampede rushed to Meadow Lake City,² following the discovery of a large area of mineralized quartz ore. This new bonanza was located about ten miles northeasterly from Cisco. Quartz mining had grown in great favor, and it opened up avenues for the successful placer miners to blow in their money. The Oakland foundry was busy fabricating several mills for this new strike. Something happened about the payment for one ten-stamp mill, and Father concluded to establish it in the Meadow Lake district to serve as a custom mill.³ A location was selected on a fork of the Yuba River about two miles down stream from Fordyce Valley. He named the place Osoville.⁴

The Central Pacific Railroad had just reached Cisco. There a town of one thousand people had sprung into existence within a year's time. Meadow Lake City had assembled a population of six thousand in a like period of time. Its buildings were of a more substantial structure than those of the ordinary wildcat mining settlements, for quartz mining held better promise of continuity than did the placer. Meadow Lake City boasted of a bank, a church meeting house, many merchandizing establishments, and ninety saloons and hurdy gurdy houses.⁵ Osoville was distant two and a half miles westerly. The whole country around was shining granite, worn smooth by sliding snow which fell to a depth of from ten to twenty feet in winter seasons along this summit of the Sierras. Summer seasons were balmy and most delightful. Red quartz veins were numerous visible throughout the great granite uprisings, and several hundred prospectors were at work on them. All were rich in the enthusiasm of hope, spending their placer diggin's gold like drunken sailors.

A road from Cisco was under construction. Meantime all transportation was by pack-mule train, which seemingly had no beginning or ending. Fifty mules in a line under one management was not uncommon. A coffin containing a corpse would go by on a mule's back, with the head of the corpse pounding audibly against the coffin in unison with the step of the mule. A stamp shaft attached to the pack-saddles of two mules in single file supplied an interesting manifestation of a mule in military step.

The rugged granite hills along the course of the Central Pacific Railroad swarmed with men who were occupied in the building of log snow sheds. Like two sides of a continuous log house the sheds covered the winding way of the

very crooked road over this deep snow zone. A hotel and capacious freight house stood at Cisco, and there was a row of small steep-roofed houses there. At lower Cisco, on the Yuba River, stood a miner-fashioned town of about a thousand people. This town was inspired by the activities at Meadow Lake City and was devoted principally to the maintenance of the mule train drivers and their animals; supplemented also by the accommodation of teamsters and their animals, as well as roadbuilders. Saloon-keepers were the most numerous class of businessmen. They occupied small, rough lumber, board and batten, shake-roofed cabins, built on a line with a board or log sidewalk.

Father took me along, a nine year old boy, because I was small enough to crawl through the manhole of the fifty-foot steam boiler, to pass through the red hot rivets and hold a hammer on them while they were being riveted on the outside. Sheets of iron for the boiler were packed in by mules over a trail. To me this was a rare treat. The trip was an endless round of excitement. First came the scenic ride from Sacramento to Cisco, then the endless mule trains tramping down to the Yuba River, up Rattlesnake Creek, over French Meadows to Red Mountain, down along its northern side, passing Mendoza Valley and the new town of Mendoza, shining in its newly sawed lumber and split shakes.

At the entrance to Fordyce Valley (now Fordyce Lake) we turned to the left, along the west side of a small lake, and went down a shallow wooded canyon and crossed the Yuba River to our destination. It was a location of picturesque enchantment: a little valley with an elevation of nearly 7,000 feet, fronting on the river, forested with pine and tamarack, near a fifty foot waterfall and with a surrounding vista of white granite mountains worn smooth by the glacial action of the heavy snows.

A wooden house for personal occupancy was first built. It had a double fireplace served by one chimney, a steep roof of split shakes under which was a gable room, or second floor, which supplied sleeping quarters for a dozen men. The first floor was subdivided into a kitchen, used also for a dining room, and two bedrooms.

The mill was of hewn logs. The boiler and engine were set in place when I was called to service on the inside of the boiler, holding one end of a red-hot rivet while the other was being riveted with a hammer on the outside. Just try to imagine that racket! There is nothing comparable to it; nor can it be described. Picture a drum built of steel, fifty feet long and five feet in diameter, with a man hammering down a rivet head on the outside while I was on the inside. My hearing has suffered in consequence of that job done seventy years ago, notwithstanding that my ears were stuffed with cotton at the time. The temperature inside that boiler, though not recorded, would doubtless have evaporated the mercury in the thermometer.

When that infernal job was over, I was assigned to help John Paulding bore holes through eight hundred feet of logs, to serve as a pipe line to supply

the mill with water from the dam above the falls. My job was to chop down the tamarack trees, cut off the limbs, and saw off the ends of the logs, while Paulding, with a sixteen-foot rod attached to a two-inch auger, bored a hole through the center. The logs were laid end to end in a trench, being connected together by means of iron rings. This pipe line served its purpose perfectly.

I also served as second cook, but in less than three months I was chief cook, and the boss over all hands in the dishwashing festivities of the kitchen.

The mill grew quite rapidly into form, and being a custom mill found immediate work to do. It ran both night and day, crushing the red quartz. The ore which was put through the mill assayed \$10 to \$20 a ton. The recovery was less than \$3. The assays of the tailings showed the difference, which indicated that about three-fourths of the gold passed over the quicksilvered copper plates and did not amalgamate with the quicksilver. All known processes were put to trial. Jim Fair,⁶ a friend of Father's, came and stayed a while with us. He made some suggestions which were experimented with and brought similar results. A thousand men from the surrounding hills came to this modern mill, all vitally interested in the result. Many had ideas and suggestions but all failed to create an affinity between the quicksilver and the rebellious Meadow Lake gold. Other mills came into operation whose batteries were fed with \$20 ore of which the plates recovered but a fraction of that amount. This newly discovered tribe in the quartz family was aristocratic, of substances and idiosyncrasies peculiar to itself. A pall fell over all the people throughout the district. Samples of the ore were sent to many foreign nations. A man from France responded that he had a process consisting of the aerification of the ore by intense heat, which brought a ray of hope as winter approached.⁷

My mother and two brothers, Fletch and Ed, and two sisters, Carrie and Rena, aged seven and five respectively, came to Osoville and joined our glorious picnic. Many happy days were spent roaming over the granite hills, and numerous journeys were taken to Fordyce Valley, where a congenial family of a herdsman always held out a fervent welcome. The men were tenaciously experimenting with the rebellious ore.

We expected to move out before winter, but an early storm spread two feet of snow over the ground. This was quickly followed by a second storm and we were trapped. Father improvised snowshoes for the horses and safely got them out, together with the men. At Cisco, fodder for the animals became a problem, for freight trains had been impeded by the unexpected and heavy fall of snow. It became necessary to rent a cabin at Cisco and convert it into a stable. Before the winter was over our horses for a time subsisted on corn meal. Just prior to the storm, the exodus from Meadow Lake City had begun. By wagons, over the newly made road, by mule trains and afoot, the surplus population moved to Cisco, where they could find transportation out by train. The early storm, however, prevented many whose luggage was of importance

from going. So it was estimated that three thousand people wintered at Meadow Lake City in 1868 [1866-67]. One day Mother flirted with a pair of snowshoes [skis]. A slight crust covered the snow. She had been an expert ice skater in Wisconsin. Starting down a short steep grade, she exclaimed, "Isn't this delightful?" Then over she went, and hoops and woman, snowshoes and pole, were all piled up together at the bottom of the hill. I never saw Mother on skis after that, though for five months no one could move out without them.

Storms were quite frequent. In the little valley where our house stood, the accumulated snowfall measured fourteen feet. Snowshoe Thompson⁸ passed us daily, carrying the mail between Meadow Lake City and Cisco. After each storm he would carefully make his track in the soft snow. Starting at the top of Red Mountain he would glide along the mountainside on a consistent grade. A frosty night would freeze the track, which would thereafter guide him as the steel rails do the locomotive. We would watch him sail down this four-mile course at a great speed, cross the ice frozen river, throw our mail toward the house, and glide out of sight, up and over a hill, by the momentum gathered in the three-mile descent. A three-mile toboggan slide was a burning temptation which we resisted for some time; but finally the lure outran discretion and we trespassed on sacred grounds. We skied alongside of Thompson's track half a mile up the grade. His track was about six inches deep and frozen hard. We sat ourselves in it, squatted, holding our poles at right angles, and let loose of our tree-limb hold. We shot out like rockets. The skis held to the track, but the three kids went tumbling down a steep mountain side, head over heels, a hundred yards before sprawling out limp and seemingly boneless, scratched, and bleeding more or less profusely.

Several days later while we were out on the opposite side of the great canyon and near Thompson's trail, he came along and called us over to where he was. Three kids then and there received a spanking which they never forgot. We did not repeat the adventure.

Our stock of food ran low. Mother tore up a mattress from which she made three knapsacks, and we were dispatched to Meadow Lake City for flour, bacon, potatoes and other lesser needs. There was no city. Its people were celebrating a ski race, half a mile down a mountain side and out over the frozen and snow-covered lake. We stopped awhile to partake of this excitement and then hunted for the town. It was entirely obliterated. Puffs of smoke came out of the snow, but there was not a sign of a chimney or the roof of a house. A man came up from below, a short distance from where we stood. He was peeling an apple, casting the peelings aside. When he reached us we were informed that a snow stairway leading down to the street was designated by two blue flags, about a hundred yards distant from where we stood, to which he pointed. Thanking the kindly gentleman, we proceeded, gathering and devouring the apple peelings on the way. We marveled that a man could

be so wasteful under such conditions. On our return we met the gentleman again and he asked our names. On learning that Father and his family were snowed in two and a half miles away, he said that he was James G. Fair, an old friend of Father's, and that he would run down and visit us very soon. He came and spent a day and night with us, bringing many little delicacies for us children. Arriving at the flags, we proceeded down about twenty steps which had been chopped out of the frozen snow. Then we crossed the street through tunnels carved through the snow, procured our provisions, and returned home, finding Mother anxiously watching for us from the second floor window. This was our first long journey by ourselves over tortuous ways. Since her tragic experience with the skis she was doubtful of the safety of that means of locomotion. Such forebodings, however, were worn away as the trips to the "city" grew into a weekly occurrence throughout a long and heavy winter. Father used a cane, due to an accident in the foundry, hence could not get about on skis. The snow entirely engulfed our house, necessitating the digging out of light wells down to the windows and a shaft to the front door after each snow storm. For wood we cut green tamarack trees. The fireplaces were kept going continuously. When the snow thawed, our firewood tree stumps stood eighteen feet above the ground.

When summer came, our mill and also two others in the district renewed their efforts to solve the problem of recovering the gold from the rebellious ore. The Frenchman built a huge stone furnace, and tried out his scheme to recover the gold by aerification, using intense heat, but that also failed. (See note 7.)

Now came the evacuation of Meadow Lake City and all the lesser towns throughout the district. With but few exceptions, household furniture and store equipments were abandoned. Wagons, mules and men, burdened with all they could carry, tramped, tramped, tramped, westward, down and away from this great paradise of hope, where joy had reigned most high in anticipation for a brief year of time, then proved barren of all but the anguish of disappointment, the forlornness of retreat.⁹

Harry Hartley, long thereafter known as the hermit of Meadow Lake, remained.¹⁰ For a time the lake city was an open prey to all who chose to take away selections of a vast quantity of personal property, including house, store, saloon and hotel furniture and equipment, sash doors and ornaments. Remnants of the pack trains spread this common loot along the way as far as Sacramento. Finally Meadow Lake City was burned, reputedly to recover the hardware and nails. At my last visit the only traces of the streets to be found were the stones which had served for the buildings to rest upon. Cisco soon followed in the wake of this exodus and total abandonment. There is not even a rock left at Cisco to indicate that there ever had been housing there for a thousand humans and several hundred mules. Harry Hartley took

up his residence in the finest house in the lake city, equipped it with a great elaboration of carpets and fancy furniture and there lived many years until he died.

NOTES

1. An excerpt from the reminiscences of Clarence M. Wooster, under the title, "Railroad Building down the San Joaquin in 1871," was printed in the March issue of the *Quarterly*. These reminiscences, which cover a period from the 1860's to the present day and include a variety of subjects, will be drawn upon from time to time by the Publication Committee without regard to chronological order; the present article, for instance, antedates the one previously printed.

2. "The township of Meadow Lake, or as it is more popularly . . . termed, 'Excelsior,' is bounded on the north by the county of Sierra, on the south by Placer, on the east by the boundary line of the States of California and Nevada, and on the west by the townships of Eureka and Washington." (Frank Tilford, in Bean's *History and Directory of Nevada County, California*, Nevada, 1867, p. 305.) In 1858, the South Yuba Canal Company constructed a dam across a ravine, forming an artificial lake from which the township and town later got its name. Gold-bearing quartz was discovered in the vicinity in 1863 by Henry Hartley, and a few months later, he, together with John Simons and Henry Feutel, located claims and formed the Excelsior Company. The California Company was formed the next year, but it was not until 1865 that public attention was attracted and the place really boomed. (Bean, *op. cit.*, p. 307.) "In July, 1865, a public meeting was called . . . the mining laws of Nevada County, California, were adopted by acclamation . . . and the name Meadow Lake formally given to the town, previously called Excelsior and Summit City. . . . It is said that during the summer of 1865 alone, about 1,200 locations were made and recorded, covering more than 1,200,000 feet of the supposed auriferous ledges. They were registered on the books under glittering names, as Shooting Star, Montreal, Mohawk, Mayflower, Golden Eagle, Potosi, Phoenix, etc. Meadow Lake was surveyed and laid out as a town, covering a plat of 160 acres. It contained spacious streets, eighty feet wide . . .

" . . . With the close of the fall of 1865 the new city contained about 150 houses completed, and a number of others in course of construction. Among these were three commodious hotels, crowded day and night . . . It is supposed that over 3,000 people visited the place between June and October of that year . . . Before the November snow-storms set in on the mountains the throngs of restless adventurers had gone like summer birds . . . Only about 200 persons . . . remained behind. . . . The winter of 1865-66 was one of unusual duration and severity" but "early in May, despite the snow-storms, the second rush set in . . ." ("A City of a Day," by Stephen Powers, in *Overland Monthly*, November, 1874, pp. 432-34.)

3. Bean's *History and Directory of Nevada County* (p. 318) lists seven stamp mills in 1867: the Winton (9 stamps), U. S. Grant (5 stamps), California (8 stamps), Excelsior (20 stamps), Meadow Lake Reduction Works (10 stamps), Golden Eagle (5 stamps), and Mohawk & Montreal (5 stamps).

4. Both Bean's *History and Directory of Nevada County* (p. 313) and the *Overland Monthly* (November, 1874, p. 436) call this "Ossaville," but in error, for Osoville undoubtedly comes from the Spanish "oso," meaning "bear."

5. "In two months, May and June [1866], over 4,000 people arrived . . . For a lot sixty by eighty feet on any of the principal streets, \$1,500 to \$2,500 was asked, and not infrequently paid, in gold coin. A small structure on C Street, eighteen by twenty-four feet, rented for \$200 a month . . . Four saw-mills had been running at the top of their capacity all the spring, and as soon as the weather permitted some 400 or 500 buildings were knocked together with amazing rapidity, making about 650 in all in the city. . . .

"In June, 1866, a stock board of thirty-nine members was established!" Stephen Powers, *op. cit.*, pp. 434-35.

6. James G. Fair was one of the quartet who made millions from the Bonanza of the Comstock Lode. His associates were James C. Flood, John W. Mackay, and William S. O'Brien.

7. Tilford, writing in 1867 (Bean, *op. cit.*, p. 317) states: "Contrary to the idea generally prevalent, no difficulty is experienced in extracting the gold from the sulphurets. The only difficulty ever encountered originated from the inexperience of the men intrusted in the first mills of the district with the amalgamation of the ores. Their entire knowledge was derived from, and confined to, the quartz mills of the State of Nevada. They were novices in the treatment of auriferous rock, and made their first essays in Excelsior. At present the vein stone is treated for free gold by the common mill process in battery, and on copper plates, and the sulphurets, concentrated from the tailings, are subsequently worked by the chlorine process. The metallurgical works of Messrs. Deetkin & Chappellet [the Mohawk & Montreal], in the vicinity of the town, are the pioneer establishment of the district, and have by repeated experiments, made on different ores, demonstrated that by Plattner's chlorine process the gold can be extracted from any rock in Excelsior, within five per cent. of its assayed value."

However, Stephen Powers, writing at a later date (*Overland Monthly*, November, 1874, p. 435), states, on the other hand, that "There seems to be some substance, unknown to metallurgists, which is so combined with the sulphurets that it is impossible to separate it and reduce the precious metal to a form of availability . . . The sulphurets show a value of about sixty dollars a ton. . . . Then there is the free gold besides. . . . The ordinary amalgamation process with quicksilver was defeated by the unknown substance above mentioned. The Plattner chlorination process, so successful in the great quartz-mines of Grass Valley, is here of no avail. All European methods tried have failed utterly . . . the baffled miners even tried a process which some charlatan or old wife had invented in a dream, and which was known as the Burns process; but that was as useless as the others. . . . One after another, as they abandoned hope, the discomfited gold-seekers abandoned Meadow Lake and went down the mountain. More than \$2,000,000 had been poured into that bottomless abyss of California known as 'dead-work,' to pay for mills, roads, buildings, mining, etc., not including those intangible and unknowable expenses inevitably connected with such a scheme as this—say \$3,000,000 in all. Eight quartz-mills had been constructed, carrying in the aggregate seventy-two stamps; and of these only the U. S. Grant had yielded anything—about \$100,000—or say one dollar for every thirty expended.

8. For references to John A. ("Snowshoe") Thompson, the Norwegian who carried the mail from Murphy's Camp to Carson City, using "snow skates" (skis) in winter, see "Snow-shoe Thompson," by Dan De Quille, reprinted in *Sierra Club Bulletin*, February, 1935, pp. 8-19; and Crofutt's *New Overland Tourist and Pacific Coast Guide*, Vol. 2, Chicago, 1879, p. 265.

9. "As the winter of 1866-67 drew on, there was a greater hegira than there had been the winter before, and it was final. All the miserable riffraff, the indolent, worthless, and profligate adventurers, who have no capital, no industry, no brains and who expect to make their living by fleecing honest men; all the gamblers and the harlots; the old prospectors, weather-beaten and grizzled; the young greenhorns, out at the elbows, out at the purse, without the means to procure a meal of victuals; all the lily-livered counter-jumpers, measurers of tape and wearers of cheap jewelry; all the sutlers, thieves, pick-pockets, and roughts, were gone. There was a mighty purging and cleaning of the mountain tops before they were given back as clean and wholesome granite to the pure embrace of the snow . . . As was befitting this brief act of melodrama, the winter of 1866-67 surpassed even the preceding in the severity of and continuance of its tempestuous storms. Fiercely the snow whirled in the howling winds . . . until it had heaped up a depth of twenty-five feet on a level, burying the unsightly and abortionate works of man out of view." (Powers, *op. cit.*, pp. 436-37.)

10. Henry Hartley, an Englishman with a tendency to "consumption," had come to the vicinity in 1860 in search of health, and in 1863 had accidentally discovered the gold-bearing ledges near Meadow Lake. (See Note 2.) Powers writes (*op. cit.*, p. 438) that after the evacuation of the "City," "The one solitary inhabitant, Hartley, in his long

winter sojourn, can move about only on his snow-shoes or Norwegian skates, so common in this alpine portion of the State, consisting of two narrow boards about fifteen feet in length, and slightly turned up at the ends. With his guiding-pole poised in his hands, striking first on this side, then on that, he attains a speed incredible to the dweller in the valleys. . . . While the minute-hand of a watch creeps over a single space, he has sped from the mountain top to the valley, shoots like a falling star through the silent streets of Meadow Lake, and skims across the lake. Swifter than the wild mountain sheep is this hunter, and he disputes its reign over solitude."

NEW MEMBERS

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Blair, Miss Jennie M.	San Francisco	Mrs. George L. Cadwalader
Daley, Hon. Jeanette E.	San Diego	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Dentzel, Carl Schaefer	Beverly Hills	Mr. Ernest Dawson
Gibbons, Morton R., M.D.	San Francisco	Mr. Edgar Kahn
Kirkwood, Mrs. Robert C.	Palo Alto	Membership Committee
Martin, Major Truman M.	San Francisco	Miss Dorothy H. Huggins
Newhall, Walter S.	San Francisco	Mr. Sherman Chickering
Pearl, Hartley F.	San Francisco	Dr. Morton R. Gibbons
Sargent, Aaron M.	San Francisco	Mr. J. B. Havre



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RECOLLECTIONS OF HISTORICAL EVENTS IN CALIFORNIA, 1843-1878

By WILLIAM A. STREETER

Edited by WILLIAM HENRY ELLISON

(Continued)

IN THE latter part of 1845 I had a chance to go to Peru which I improved as far as setting sail was concerned, but as fortune would have it the vessel, belonging to Capt. Wilson,¹⁵ proved to be so leaky that it was considered unsafe to continue the voyage, so after having been out 3 days, we turned about and landed at San Pedro. From this port I lost no time in passing on to L[os]. A[ngeles]. intending to return to Santa Barbara by land. In Los Angeles I found Castro and his force composed of about 250 Californians about to set out to meet Micheltorena,¹⁶ who with a force of Americans, Indians, and his *Cholos* was advancing from the North. I was anxious to continue my journey at once and accordingly asked for a passport. I was told that no one would be allowed to leave the city in that direction for the time being.

This obliged me to remain in L A for some four or five days longer, when Castro having marched toward San Buenaventura, I set out the next day in company with Juan Sanchez.¹⁷ At San Buenaventura I found Castro and his men, the former requesting me to remain with him, for the present at least. About the same time [there] arrived 14 Americans from Micheltorena's force, who had been taken prisoners just beyond the river, [and who] were brought in. Castro called me to interpret for him, and told me to tell them to give up their arms which they still carried. Upon conveying to them the order of Castro, they said that they would not give them up as if they did they would all be shot. I could not help smiling at this and told them that if they were disposed to shoot them they could easily do it even if they had their arms, as there were so many of them, and that they had better give up their arms and I was sure that they would be well treated. Acting upon my advice they immediately surrendered their arms and were led away. Castro then turned to me and asked me what in my opinion should be done with the men, as he was disposed to send them back to Micheltorena. I told him that I thought he had better keep them a few days and treat them well and then send them back; that in the meantime I would talk with them and assure them that it was not his (Castro's) intention to drive all the foreigners from the country as had been currently reported, but that the revolution was against Micheltorena because he refused to send his *cholos* or *bijos*, as he called them, back to Mexico. He admitted that this plan would be better and ordered an animal or steer

killed for them and that vegetables &c. should be sent to them. He also allowed them to go about wherever they chose, and requested me to keep them company to prevent any trouble between them and his men. From them I learned that they had been sent forward as an advance guard and were surrounded and taken before they suspected that there was an enemy near.

Among them were Knight,¹⁸ Swift,¹⁹ Don and John Murphy,²⁰ Coombs,²¹ and a half breed Cherokee Indian by the name of Mackintosh;²² the names of the others I do not recollect. I talked to them and told them Castro's object in making the revolution and that he had no desire to drive the foreigners from the country. They admitted that it was owing to this report that most all of the foreigners had joined Micheltorena, by advice of Sutter.²³ We remained in San Buenaventura 5 days when the 14 were allowed to return on giving their parole of honor, and I accompanied them. Arrived at Sutter's and Micheltorena's camp the prisoners soon gave their companions an account of their capture, and stay with Castro, and I observed that it was not without its effect among the Americans.

I had hoped to pass on to Santa Barbara, but peremptory orders from Micheltorena, forbidding anyone leaving camp that night, obliged me to stay there and I passed the night with an acquaintance by the name of Shearbeck [Sherreback]²⁴ from San Francisco. Micheltorena's force consisted of about 100 Americans, 100 Indians from Sacramento, and 200 of his *cholos*. Sinclair,²⁵ one of the Americans, who were commanded by Capt. Gant[t],²⁶ and others were for attacking Castro that night, and proposed bringing Castro's head back on a pole. Sutter had called me and asked many questions regarding Castro's force, arms, position &c., to all of which I gave very unsatisfactory answers.

Several of the Americans also asked me about the enemy's position. I told them that the road was blockaded by a wall of stone some 8 or 10 feet high, and that on the hill sides were posted sharpshooters that could do great executing without exposing themselves. Sutter also asked me if Castro had any cannon, to which I replied that I could not say positively, as I had seen none, but that I had heard some very loud reports that sounded very much like cannon. In the morning it was very evident that quite a change of feeling had taken place among the foreigners; many showing a disposition to return.

Seeing this Gant formed them all in line and told them that having come thus far and promised Micheltorena that they would aid him, he hoped none would desert him, but if there were any who wanted to return he wished to have them step out of the line.

At this invitation the 14 who had been taken prisoners, and 10 others stepped out. He talked with them some time trying to persuade them not to turn back, but the 14 were firm declaring that having given their parole of honor they had no other alternative excepting, however, one of them called Coombs, who said he would do whatever the rest might decide. The other ten

also expressed their intention to leave. Gant then ordered them to fall into line again and after another harangue again requested those who desired to leave to step out of the line.

This time about 50 of them, including the 14, left the line. They intended to move on that day but this obliged them to remain in camp. One of the foreigners by the name of Green came blustering up to me and demanded to know who I was, anyway, as I was to blame for all the men leaving. To this I replied that I was a Dr., at the same time pulling a bowie knife from my boots and saying, "this is my lancet, and this," drawing a pepper box revolver, "is my pill box." He then left me and began on the men who had been taken prisoners declaring that they were cowards. He had hardly uttered the words however when Mackintosh, the half-breed, gave a regular Indian war whoop and jumped at him knife in hand, and only a rapid retreat to Micheltorena's tent saved him. That afternoon I left them and came on to Santa Barbara. Shearbeck and others accompanying me, and for several days they continued to arrive in small squads. Among them were the Murphys, and one of them had a blanket wrapped around him instead of pants. Sinclair also passed through declaring his intention to proceed to Sutter's fort and, if he found Webber [Weber],²⁷ a prisoner there, to tear down every building in the place. This Webber was the grantee of the Stockton grant and had been arrested and thrown into prison by Sutter because he refused to join Micheltorena. One of the Murphys being in need of shoes went to Micheltorena for a pair, but this chief told him that if he would wait until they reached Los Angeles he could supply himself with whatever he required as it was his intention to give his troops three hours in which to sack the town. To this Murphy replied that if he had to wait for a pair of shoes until they reached Los Angeles, he feared that he would never have any.

A few days after I left their camp on the Rincon, Castro having retreated, Micheltorena's force marched to Cahu[e]nga. Here a few shots were exchanged, I believe, but no one hurt. Here, too, they found that a large number of foreigners from Los Angeles had joined Castro owing to the report that Micheltorena was going to sack the town. They had all red bands on their hats, showing that no quarter would be given.

Here the foreigners of both sides had a parley and agreed to withdraw and let the Californians and Mexicans fight it out between them. They also agreed to join in the defense of Los Angeles and not allow Micheltorena to enter the town. Accordingly, they retired in the night towards Los Angeles and took up a position on the road to the town just in time to prevent Micheltorena from advancing, he having got on the rear of Castro by a flank movement.

At the sight of the Americans, he fell back and soon after came to terms with Castro, agreeing to leave for Mexico with his *cholos*. Not long after, having occasion to go to Los Angeles in quest of some horses belonging to

Capt. Wilson and to me, I saw the General and his *hijos* embark in San Pedro, en route for San Blas.

Micheltorena was almost wholly to blame for this revolution. The Californians at this time were peaceably disposed and respected Genl. Micheltorena, who was in fact held in high esteem by all both as a gentleman and soldier.

The majority of Californians were content to have him remain but they could not consent to have his soldiers remain. These soldiers or *cholos* as they were usually termed had been recruited from the jails of Mexico and were consequently criminals. They had hardly arrived here before they began their depredations which they continued until they left. Nothing was too worthless for them to steal. When quartered in the vicinity, the people dare[d] not leave clothes hanging out at night, and during the daytime if the kitchen was left alone a few minutes the chances were that something, even to the food that was cooking would be stolen by these thieves.

Tired at last of their depredations, the people, seeing their complaints ignored, demanded their return to Mexico. This demand, Micheltorena, who was fond of his *hijos* as he called them, refused to comply with, and the consequence was a revolution.

When the Russians left Bodega,²⁸ Capt. Sutter bought property of them including their buildings, stock &c., to the amount of thirty thousand dollars. Up to the time of this revolution this debt had not been paid and Micheltorena proposed to assume this debt, to be paid from the first duties paid into the treasury if Sutter would induce the foreigners, many of whom were beginning to arrive overland, to aid him in his expedition against Castro. This proposition Sutter readily agreed to and began to raise a company from among the immigrants then arriving, telling them that if they wished to settle and remain in the country they must aid Micheltorena, who was friendly to foreign immigration, while Castro and his associates, Alvarado, the Picos, and others, were bent upon driving all of the foreigners out of the country. The plausibility of such a state of things was strengthened by the fact, which they soon learned, of the exile of Graham²⁹ and his companions by these same men but a few years before. With the same story he also induced several of the foreign residents in the country to join him and among them Graham. The taking of the prisoners at San Buenaventura defeated their scheme, as [for] when they learned that they would not be molested, most of them left Micheltorena as has been related. I afterwards learned from friends in Los Angeles, that Sutter attributed the failure of his plans to my meddling as he called it.

After my return to Santa Barbara, I resumed the practice of medicine in which I continued until the spring of 1846. I then went up to San Simeon, to take charge of 300 cattle and 100 mares belonging to Thomas Park,³⁰

supercargo of the "Sterling." Two months later the American flag was hoisted in Monterey and I returned to Santa Barbara.

When Fremont passed through here on his way North, he left Lieut. Talbot here with 12 men.³¹ About two months after, when the Flores revolution broke out in Los Angeles,³² one hundred Californians under the command of Manuel Garfias arrived here and camped on the other side of the "Estero." A Flag of Truce was sent in to Talbot demanding his surrender, and agreeing to send him and his men North on the first vessel, under their parole of honor. Talbot called his men³³ one by one and informed them of the situation, dwelling upon the disparity in numbers [and] of the hopelessness of resistance, together with the liberal terms offered them; giving as his opinion that the wisest course would be to surrender. Each man in turn excepting the last was willing to surrender. The last man was Eugene Russell,³⁴ son of old Col. Russell, and when he was called and learned the other men's decision, he declared that they might do as they pleased, but as for him he had never been a prisoner and never intended to be, but would take his blankets and arms and make for the mountains. When his determination was made known to the rest of the men they concluded to follow his example, and so at once left their quarters and reached the mission canyon without opposition. As they were about to leave their quarters, some one exclaimed, "There is the flag, that must not be left," when Russell tore it from the staff and wrapping it about him marched off. Immediately upon their withdrawal, the Californians entered and took possession of the town. They did not attempt to follow Talbot and his men. Five days later, having no bread, some of Talbot's men went down to Capt. Robbins³⁵ at the Positas Ranch and asked for some.

At the sight of them he became, to all appearances, very much alarmed and said, "No, no, I can give you nothing, I dare not. There are some barrels of crackers but I dare not give you any." Whether this was or not a hint to help themselves, it suited the men to take it as such and they accordingly took what they wanted.

In the meantime Capt. Robbins hastened off to Santa Barbara and notified Capt. de la Guerra, that Talbot and his men were in the Mission Canyon. A party was formed of some 40 who having proceeded up the canyon some distance found the object of their search posted on a rise which was surrounded by a thick growth of chaparral forming as it were a natural corral. The Californians had brought Robbins and Daniel Hill³⁶ with them, and they sent Hill forward to demand the surrender of Talbot, instructing him to tell them that if they fired on them they would kill Robbins whom they held among them. To the summons to surrender, Talbot sent a refusal, when Robbins was sent in to make another demand while Hill was held back with the same object as Robbins had before been retained. The second demand received the same answer as the first, and with the caution to the Californians not to venture any nearer as they would crease their horses, not having a

desire to shoot any of the Californians unless they were obliged to. One of the Californians by the name of Rodriguez, and commonly called *el venado*, disregarding this warning dashed into the chaparral with his horse, his example being followed by several others. Almost simultaneously several shots were fired and all but Rodriguez found themselves on foot, their horses having fallen, and Rodriguez barely escaped, for as they fired he was in the act of turning his horse when a bullet which had probably been aimed at his horse buried itself in the head of his saddle. This reception disheartened them and they returned to town. A larger party was formed, well armed, and returned to capture them. One of the party by the name of Rodriguez (uncle of the former) but commonly called Navajo, assured them that he had not been so long among the Americans without learning a thing or two, and he had a plan of getting at the Americans.

Arrived at the place he proceeded to set fire to the chaparral, but by this time the Americans were far up on the mountain where they stood laughing at their pursuers. The Californians gave up the hunt (remained until midnight expecting to see them come out. The next morning they went in and found two old shoes partially burned which led them to believe that they had burned up completely all of the Americans) and the Americans followed along the hills until they met Fremont returning South.³⁷ About this time Robbins, Thompson,³⁸ Sparks,³⁹ Hill, and I with other foreigners were taken prisoners and most of them sent to Los Angeles under guard. Sparks claimed to be a Mexican citizen and was consequently released, and I was allowed to go free after giving my parole of honor. Shortly after, I went up to Capt. Dana's⁴⁰ ranch, the Nipomo, and having procured an ox-cart proceeded on to San Simeon⁴¹ for the purpose of bringing some of my property down to the Nipomo. From San Simeon I set out on my return with three Indians I had with me.

The first day we arrived at Rafael Villa's⁴² where we stopped for the night. About dusk Joaquin Valenzuela⁴³ with about 20 Californians rode up. They dismounted and surrounded me. Valenzuela called upon me to surrender, at the same time presenting a pair of pistols at my breast. I told him that I was already a prisoner and under parole. He paid no attention to this but again demanded, "Will you surrender yourself?" I repeated the same answer and at this moment Don Rafael [Villa] came out and called us to supper, and Valenzuela put up his pistols and allowed me to pass into the house. He then posted his men about the house, and at the doors and windows, telling them that he would hold them responsible with their lives for my escape.

This concluded, he came in and sat down to supper close to me. After a few minutes conversation on indifferent subjects, I turned to Valenzuela and asked him if he did not feel ashamed of his treatment of me, and if he did not remember when I attended him during his sickness, and how grateful he had manifested himself, and even offered to serve me all his life &c. I asked him

if this was his manner of repaying favors. He apologized for his actions toward me but said that before his men he found it necessary to act as he had done, and that he had received orders from his superior officer to arrest all foreigners. Upon hearing this, I again took him to task, as he had told me that he recognized no superior officer when I told him that I was at liberty on my parole of honor, by order of his superior officer. To this he made the same answer as before, that he found it necessary to act thus before his men. The truth of the matter was, however, as I afterwards learned, that these men had been in the fight at Salinas but two or three days before and, exasperated at the loss of some 15 or 20 which they had sustained, they had started South with the avowed intention of killing every American they found. They went first to San Simeon and failing to find me there proceeded to the next Ranch⁴⁴ belonging to Julian Estrada, who in answer to their inquiries, told them that I had passed that day.

From there they rode on to Rafael Villa's. The next morning we started out for San Luis Obispo, I having left my oxcart in charge of the Indians at Villa's. At San Luis Obispo they halted and sent out and arrested Branch⁴⁵ and several foreigners at Wilson's ranch,⁴⁶ and among them a large Dutchman, commonly known as Mountain Bill. The next day we continued our march South, stopping that night at Miguel Avila's.⁴⁷ Here Manuel Castro⁴⁸ accompanied by a few men overtook us. I was well acquainted with him and he informed me that he had heard of Valenzuela's threat to kill all the Americans he found and had hurried forward to prevent him from carrying it into execution. From Avila's we marched the next day to within 10 miles of Nipomo and went into camp.

Mountain Bill slept next to me and about the middle of the night I was awakened by his raising up. I asked him what he was going to do. "Got Tam," he said, "I nefer see sooch men, dey vas all ashleep. I cood cud efery von of dere dhroots and leaf for de mountens." "Yes," I said, "that could be easily done but you are not going to do it, for if you should every one of the American prisoners in their hands would be massacred." He concluded that I was right and laid down again.

The next morning we marched into Nipomo. Arrived here, Valenzuela arrested Dana, telling him that he must go with him to Los Angeles.

Dana appealed to Castro declaring that it was impossible to leave his family alone and unprotected and if he must of necessity go, I would have to be left to take care of his family. Castro turned to Valenzuela and ordered him to release Capt. Dana, and also Branch who said that his family too had been left wholly unprotected. Accordingly, Dana remained at Nipomo and Branch returned to San Luis Obispo, Castro giving him a passport and order to all persons to allow him to pass unmolested.

The rest of our party came down to Santa Barbara. Here I was left, Manuel Castro giving orders to Raymundo Carrillo⁴⁹ to allow no one to take me

away without his (Castro's) orders, while the others were taken to Los Angeles. At this time Raymundo Carrillo was Commandante here and Gumucedo Flores⁵⁰ was commonly called general. They had some 15 or 20 men quartered in a house formerly occupied by Capt. Robbins, through which de la Guerra street now passes.

I remained here until the approach of Fremont. One evening a few days before he arrived here, José Carrillo⁵¹ called on me at Mr. Burke's where I was stopping and informed Mr. Thomas Sparks⁵² and me that we must get ready to leave with him for Los Angeles at two o'clock the following morning. We were taken down to the San Carlos Hotel, and from there I sent for Raymundo Carrillo. Reminding him of Manuel Castro's orders relative to my not being allowed to be taken away, he instructed José Carrillo to leave me. The rest including Robbins, Hill, Parks, Thompson and others, who had previously been sent to Los Angeles and allowed to return under parole, were taken down towards Los Angeles again. José Carrillo obliged all the Californians to join him and marched down to Carpinteria where he camped.

Learning that Fremont was close to hand, I rode out in company with Burton⁵³ and Sparks and found him at the foot of the mountain on this side of the San Marcos Pass, filling up a gully in order to pass his cannon over. I at once rode up to the camp fire where he was standing, but Sparks and Burton remained in the rear. He came forward and shook hands with me, and we at once entered into conversation. Fremont told me that it was his intention to enter Santa Barbara with fire and sword, that with the exception of two or three houses he did not propose to leave a single building standing in the town. I told him that I thought that would be rather harsh and unjust. "But," he said, "they are all out in arms against me and merit it. All along the route I have pursued the same course, destroying all the property I could find of those who were out in arms and I have sent word to all of them that such will continue to be my course." I assured him that although many male residents of Santa Barbara were out in arms against him it was only because they had been forced to go, and that if he would spare the town I would send word to those who were away and could answer for their returning within a few days. He said that he would wait a few days and see. I rode in with him about 9 P. M. He sent Knight up to my room with 12 men with instructions to post them wherever I thought best. I had stationed ten of them and was returning from the upper part of town when we ran across a person who was evidently trying to avoid us. Hailing him both in Spanish and English and receiving no answer, we chased him around a corner where we succeeded in arresting him.

He proved to be one of Fremont's men who had left camp without permission. I sent him to Fremont and then proceeded to post the other men. In passing a thick growth of malva I heard a whistle and upon searching about found a Californian called José Viejo, his proper name I have forgotten.

Before I reached him he called out in a whisper, "Don Guillermo, can I get up?" Upon assuring him that he need fear nothing, he came to me, and I took him to Fremont. He signed a parole of honor and was at once engaged by Fremont as vaquero, and did considerable service in guiding the foraging parties to the place where stock was concealed, and in carrying news to the men at José Carrillo's camp at the Carpinteria. While Fremont remained here the Californians continued to come in. They usually came in the night, and rendezvoused at a certain house where about 12 o'clock each night I went to meet them and bring them up to Fremont's camp, where they signed their parole.

In April of 1847 Col. Stevenson's regiment,⁵⁴ or rather a part of it, from 200 to 300 men, came here and remained a little over a year.

In the early part of 1848 a brass cannon was stolen from the beach, it was supposed by the Californians, and consequently upon their refusing to return it or make known its place of concealment, a fine of \$500 was imposed on the inhabitants, including all property holders both native and foreign. The fine was paid and the money deposited in the hands of Don Anastacio Carrillo,⁵⁵ to be returned whenever the cannon should be forthcoming. In 1855 he told me that the money would be turned into the school fund. Later in 1856-57 it was proposed to build a county road over the San Marcos Pass, and I having offered to take the contract for \$5000, Don Anastacio told me that in the event the contract being awarded to me, the \$500 of the "Lost Cannon" would be used in part payment of the work. That was the last I ever heard of the \$500, except that it had never been returned to the County.

The cannon was a brass 12 pounder and would weigh in the neighborhood of a ton. It had formed a part of the armament of the Brig "Primavera" belonging to Capt. King,⁵⁶ and condemned here. The cannon, among the rest of her belongings, was taken ashore soon after she was condemned, and laid on the beach just above high water mark.

The survey and condemnation of the "Primavera" was not considered final, and they began to put the things on board again. Capt. King left orders with the mate to bring the cannon off early the following morning. Accordingly, before daylight the next day, the mate took some of the crew and went to bring the gun off. They succeeded in getting it on board the boat, placing it across the thwarts at the stern, but in passing through the surf the boat tipped and the cannon not having been secured slid off into the water. This happened just opposite the estero and here in 1859 or thereabouts the cannon was found.

Fearing the Capt's. displeasure should they confess the truth, the mate and men agreed to report that the cannon was gone when they reached the beach, and that it had undoubtedly been stolen by the Californians as the wheel tracks of an oxcart could be traced along the beach close to where it had lain. This story was told me in 1849 in Stockton by the mate of the

"Primavera" and I am inclined to believe it in preference to the story that the Californians stole and concealed it.

Capt. King owed me at that time \$200, and offered me the cannon in payment of this amount, but I did not care to receive it, at first, and when I concluded finally that I had perhaps better accept it, I was told that it was stolen.

When it was found in 1859 it was hauled or dragged up to the de la Guerra house where, as soon as I heard of it, I went to claim it, Capt. King never having paid me the \$200. I told Don Pablo de la Guerra of my agreement to take the cannon in payment of the \$200, but he assured me that, Capt. King had left orders that if the cannon should be found that it be turned over to the town, as having paid for it, it belonged to them by right. Upon hearing this I relinquished my claim in favor of the city. A short time after it was sold by the de la Guerras for old brass to a Jew by the name of Hatch, then doing business here. Hatch himself afterward told me that Don Pablo owed him \$90, and gave him the cannon in payment of that debt. In order to commemorate this affair one of our streets was named Quinientos (500), and another El Canon Perdido (The Lost Cannon). The former seal of the City had a cannon and above it, Vale quinientos Pesos (It is worth \$500.)⁵⁷

In the first part of 1848 I was engaged in selling mdse. for Mr. J. J. Jarvis,⁵⁸ who brought a cargo of goods here in the Sch "Sterling."

These were the first goods sold for cash, hides and tallow having been the money of the country up to this date.

In the latter part of Nov. or the first of Dec. 1848, in company with 9 Californians I went to the diggings. I remained principally at Wood Creek diggings, near the present site of Jamestown, although I visited several other diggings. I fitted out the men who went with me [and] who, with a few exceptions, paid me at the diggings. In Jan. of 1849 I went down to Stockton for supplies. On my way back owing to the bad condition of the roads I was obliged to leave my wagons stuck in the mud and carry what things I could to camp on the animals. The following March I returned to Stockton and entered into business with Mr. Weber taking charge of his store. Here I remained until the last of December 1849 or 1st of Jan. 1850, when I returned to Santa Barbara. In the Spring of 1848 my brother-in-law Mr. Isaac Callahan leased from Col. Stevenson for the term of 3 years at \$300 per year, the Mission of San Buenaventura. I entered into partnership with him, and previous to his death in April 1850, he transferred the lease to me. I continued in the Mission, until Dec. 1850.

In Sept. of 1850, Father Bra[n]chi,⁵⁹ who was then priest at San Buenaventura, called me and proposed that I should admit him as partner. That he would give [me] \$3000 for the purpose of buying goods, and with the goods, about \$3000 worth, which I then had, would give us quite a respectable stock. He said that by letting the Californians run up accounts with us we could, by taking advantage of their carelessness in business matters, soon

possess ourselves of their lands and cattle. Father Brachi's name was of course not to be used in the business but he would aid our mutual interest in every possible manner.

To this infamous proposal I gave a flat refusal, telling the worthy Father that I would never lend even my name to such a scheme. At this Father Brachi declared that if I did not consent to the arrangement that he would ruin me. Shortly after he came here, he met Poli⁶⁰ and returned with him to San Buenaventura and Poli went to L. A. where he met Arnaz.⁶¹ They came to San Buenaventura and were closeted some time with the priest. Poli and Arnaz then came up to Santa Barbara. Soon after, an injunction was placed on my interest and suit begun for unlawful claims, and I was finally ousted. Mr. Arnaz claimed that the Mission had been bought by him from Pio Pico, and that he afterwards sold it to Manuel Poli. This was the first time that he made any pretension to such a title. It was well known that Mr. Arnaz had in 1845 leased the Mission for 9 years from Pio Pico, but when at the time of American occupation it was released by Stevenson, Arnaz made no attempt at protest. I lost here \$4000.

Shortly after I went to El Arroyo de las Veras, thence to San Luis Obispo, thence to El Arroyo Grande, and finally returning to Santa Barbara in 1855 where I have resided ever since.

In 1859 I was justice of the peace, in 1861-63 one of the trustees of Santa Barbara appointed by the Legislature. At the same time I was Treasurer, Collector, and acting Secty., also Inspector of the Port from 1861-63.⁶²

I had a cousin by the name of David Streeter who was in the U. S. Dragoons under General Kearny.⁶³ He came from Ft. Leavenworth to California with him and took part in the fight at San Pascual.

I have often heard him tell about the fight which as near as I can remember was about as follows. General Kearny had about 200 men. Kit Carson being their guide. When within about 35 miles of San Diego, to which place they were bound, their scouts reported a force of Californians in their front. Kearny intended avoiding them and passing on to San Diego but Kit Carson assured Kearny that the Californians would not stand and that it was a good opportunity to supply themselves with fresh horses. It was accordingly determined to attack them. Most of the men were mounted on mules, their ammunition was wet and their sabers rusted in their scabbards, not having been drawn since they left Fort Leavenworth. In coming out of a ravine on to the plain the Californians were sighted and a charge was immediately sounded. The charge was hardly begun when it was discovered that another body of Californians had cut off their retreat up the ravine. Then the retreat was sounded, but too late for some of them for the foremost in the charge found themselves surrounded by the enemy, and their retreat cut off. Among them was my cousin. Seeing himself surrounded, and finding it impossible to draw

his sabre, he cut the straps, and, although surrounded by lances, parried their thrusts for some time.

At last one of them thrust his lance through my cousin's neck and brought him to the ground, when he received eight lance wounds more, four in the right breast and four at the base of the spine. At the sound of the retreat, Kearny fell back on a side hill where they had neither food or water, and here the Californians kept them until 4 p.m. A dispute arose between the Californians and the Mexicans with them as to where the prisoners then in Los Angeles should be taken, the former contending that they should remain in the hands of the Californians, the latter that they should be taken to Mexico. Failing to agree, an express was sent to Andrés Pico⁶⁴ to return at once to L. A. He withdrew his men and thus afforded the Americans an opportunity for escaping. The Americans lost 18 killed, and the Californians, a few.

My cousin was carried to San Diego and placed in the hospital where he lay for four weeks and five days wholly unconscious. At the end of this time Dr. Griffith⁶⁵ who attended him was about to give him up when, signs of life appearing, they renewed their efforts and finally succeeding in healing his wounds and restoring him to health. From the wounds in his breast a piece of lung two or three inches square was extracted. After his wounds were well there was left a hole at the base of the spine large enough to contain one's fist. During his convalescence, stimulants were used and he became so accustomed to their use that he ever after required them. He resumed his trade as barber, settled in Santa Barbara, and died in 1863 partly from the effects of his wounds, as since leaving the hospital he had never been entirely well. In this action the Californians had about 300 men and were commanded by Andres Pico.

From within a few weeks of my arrival here I became acquainted with Don José de la Guerra, or Capt. as he was commonly called, and also with his whole family and this acquaintance, which soon grew into close intimacy, continued until the old man's death. I was a daily visitor at the De la Guerra house, received as a friend of the family and was treated with a consideration and frankness not accorded to any other foreigner excepting those connected with the family by marriage. For this reason I had unusual opportunities for acquiring an exact and full knowledge of the characters and lives of the Capt. and his sons.

When I first met Capt. de la Guerra he was a man of about [65] years, still hale, hearty, active, and of commanding presence. He was still an officer of the Mexican army I believe, but on the retired list, and was Capt. of the Port of Santa Barbara.

As I have mentioned in another part of this statement Capt. de la Guerra was one of the most charitable men I have ever known, very few of the early inhabitants of Santa Barbara, especially Californians, but received ample proof of his beneficence. He was equally upright and honorable, and his

experience and sound judgment was such that rarely and perhaps never was any enterprise of importance undertaken in Santa Barbara without his aid and advice. He was esteemed and respected by all both Californians and foreigners, and among the simple minded natives he was venerated next to the Mission Fathers.

While he was living, few Californians thought of passing before his house without taking off their hats, and among the old men this practice of uncovering their heads was kept up long after the Capt. had died.

He was never favorably disposed to the Mexican Govt. and was less so towards the American occupation, assertions to the contrary notwithstanding. When the country was first taken possession of by the Americans, Don Pablo, the Capt's son, was in common with many other Californians required by Fremont to give his parole of honor. At the fight at Salinas, at the commencement of the Flores revolution, Don Pablo again took up arms and was afterwards arrested, but finally allowed to go. When Don Pablo was arrested the Capt. complained bitterly of the injustices of the U. S. making war upon a much weaker nation than herself, and the seizure of Mexican territory &c. I was present at the time and defended the course of the U. S., assuring him that Mexico was the one that had declared war and that as to his son, I thought he had been dealt very leniently with indeed, but this did not seem to mollify him in the least. The old man had other reasons for disliking American occupation: he realized that it would deprive him of the authority and power he had long enjoyed, nevertheless, he never allowed his feelings to show themselves and always enjoined moderation and prudence upon his sons. Francisco, one of his sons, was present on this occasion, and he declared that he had been born a Mexican and would remain one, regardless of the flag he might live under; that as long as he lived he would never cease to oppose the Americans in every manner possible. He kept his word, for during the war of the rebellion there were no more bitter secessionists in the whole state,⁶⁶ than the de la Guerras. [The quoted passage which follows was a note inserted by Murray.] "I don't know if such a sweeping charge will be borne out by the facts. When the native California battalion of cavalry was organized, and accepted into the U. S. service, Antonio Ma. de la Guerra, the old man's youngest son, was a Captain in the Battalion, and Santiago de la Guerra a son of Dn. Francisco, was a Lieut. of same. Antonio Ma. was also once a State Senator, and well spoken of. His son-in-law Hartnell⁶⁷ was in the service of the U. S. during the military Govt. in California." It is related that some of the Carrillos, with other of the Californians proposed getting up a revolution, and having formed their plan it was as a matter of course submitted to Capt. de la Guerra for his approval. After examining it carefully and deliberately the old man handed it back to them saying, "very good, very good, well planned, well planned but—beware of the result."

This was said in such a significant manner that they seriously considered

the result, and as a consequence abandoned their project. From old settlers I learned that he often acted as mediator and peacemaker between opposing factions, and his good offices frequently brought about a solution of difficulties that otherwise must have terminated in a revolution.

As a soldier Capt. de la Guerra was a strict disciplinarian to a fault perhaps, and unfortunately this discipline was carried into his family. To this unnecessary subjection may be attributed the conduct of his sons when his old age and other circumstances forced them, in a measure, from his control. Long after the sons had grown to be men, and some of them married, obedience to the father did not lessen. It was an established rule with the old man that every one of his sons should be at home by 9 o'clock at night, or give a satisfactory account of where they had been, and this rule applied as strictly to married as to the single sons.

Frequently I have had Joaquin⁶⁸ come to my room and persuade me to go home with him and tell his father that he had been with me. At sunrise everybody in the de la Guerra house was astir, and as soon as dressed they proceeded to the dining room where hot coffee was served, the old man seated at the head of the table, the sons and daughters arranged on either side and *standing*. At 9 A.M. breakfast was served; at 12 M, lunch, and at 4 P.M., chocolate and tea, and immediately following this repast prayers were said, at the conclusion of which, the old man remained at the head of the table, the sons and daughters retiring, and kissing their father's hand as they filed past.

The last meal of the day was served between 8 and 9 in the evening and was sufficiently substantial to deserve the name of dinner, although called supper. Parties and balls were of frequent occurrence at the de la Guerra house, but were select and quiet affairs; in later years, however, the sons were not so choice in their company. Capt. de la Guerra was very friendly to foreigners and realized the advantage to the country of foreign immigration, and therefore did everything in his power to encourage them to settle in the country, especially those having some trade or profession.

His daughters all married foreigners. Teresa married Wm. Hartnell, [María de las] Angustias, Dr. Ord⁶⁹ although she was first married to Jimeno;⁷⁰ Anita [Ana Maria] married Alfred Robinson,⁷¹ and Antonia María, Don Cesareo Lataillade,⁷² and at his death Don Gaspar Orena.⁷³

When I arrived here in 1843 his eldest son, José Antonio was married to an Ortega and resided on the Alamos ranch. At the old man's death he owned the following ranches, San Julian, Simi, Las Positas, and Tapo; all large ranches and well stocked. At the present date nothing remains but the Tapo ranch and that is heavily mortgaged.

José Antonio de la Guerra, or Noriega as he was more familiarly known, I believe, took no active part in public affairs until 1845 when he joined in the revolution against Micheltorena. He was also called "El Cadete," it

having been his father's intention to obtain an appointment for him as cadet in the Spanish Army.

From 185— to 185— Los Alamos vicinity was infested with highwaymen, among whom were Sandini, an Argentino, and several others all Californians or Mexicans. They had their spies in Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, who reported the movements of cattle drovers and other travellers supposed or known to carry money. The last seen of these travellers would generally be at their departure from one of these points between San Luis Obispo and Santa Barbara between which they disappeared. José Antonio Noriega has frequently been suspected of complicity in these crimes and certainly circumstances point very strongly towards him.⁷⁴ That his ranch was the headquarters of these cut throats no one who pretends to know has ever disputed. In ——— a man by the name of Bishop who had been building a ——— mill for Branch came down on horseback to Santa Barbara, stopping at the Los Alamos ranch for breakfast.

Upon continuing his journey, he found that José Antonio Noriega and an Indian were close behind him. At the crossing of the Gaviota Pass he heard José Antonio say to the Indian in Spanish, "now is your time." The Indian answered that he was afraid, and could not be induced to attack him, although José Antonio said he should have the ———. They did not suppose Bishop understood Spanish, and although he was careful not show by his actions that he suspected them, he kept them in the advance the rest of the way. This was related to me by Bishop himself. Another well known case is that of two men, Americans, each with several thousand dollars who were coming down to buy cattle.

They took dinner at "Los Alamos" and when leaving noticed two horses saddled and bridled, tied near the house.

They had gone but a short distance when they were overtaken by two Californians or Mexicans mounted on these same horses. When they first saw them they were coming at a full gallop, but they drew up as they neared them and rode close behind them at a walk. One of the Americans was mounted on a fine horse and the other on a mule. One of the Mexicans suddenly said, "look at those horses over yonder," at the same time pointing with his finger in the direction designated. Both the Americans turned their heads to look when the Mexicans fired at them with their pistols. The one on the mule received a bullet in the neck which knocked him from his mule, and he fell to the ground insensible. Thinking him dead and that they could attend to him at their leisure, they both started in pursuit of the American on horseback who, apparently unharmed, put spurs to his horse and made off at full speed.

He was never seen afterwards, and it was surmised that he was overtaken and killed. The American who was knocked from his mule soon recovered consciousness and at once realizing that the Mexicans would soon return he

left his mule, and having tied a handkerchief around his neck to stop the flow of blood from his wound, threw the saddle bags over his shoulder and made for a ravine close by. From this one he passed on to another until he saw the Mexicans coming in search of him when hiding the saddle bags in a hollow log, determined that they should not get his money, he hid in a clump of bushes. They passed close by him but did not discover him. That night he made his way to the Santa Ynez Mission to the house of Don Agustin Janssens.⁷⁵ Here he was kindly cared for, and remained until his wound was sufficiently healed to allow him to travel. The money was recovered.

(To be continued)

NOTES

15. Captain John Wilson, a Scotch ship-master and trader, arrived in California in 1826 and died in 1860. Previous to 1836, he married Ramona Carrillo de Pacheco, and from the time of his marriage considered Santa Barbara as his home. He was naturalized in 1837 and from 1839-1847 was a partner of James Scott. In 1845 he took some part in the troubles with Micheltorena. In the same year, with Scott, he was the purchaser of the San Luis Obispo estate and grantee of the ranchos Cañada del Chorro and Cañada de los Osos, where he spent the rest of his life. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California*, V, 777.

16. In 1844-45 a revolt was led by José Castro and Alvarado against Governor Micheltorena. While one of the chief complaints against Micheltorena was the character of his soldiery, perhaps the fundamental causes of the revolt were the reunion under him of the civil and military powers, and the fact that Micheltorena was a foreigner. Castro and Alvarado had recently gone south where they had taken Los Angeles. They were able to add to their forces many persons through the charge that Micheltorena had foreign forces with him, which Streeter's statement indicates was a fact.

17. Juan Sanchez, who was in Santa Barbara County as early as 1837 and as late as 1854, has no other distinction than that he was grantee of the Santa Clara, or El Norte, rancho in 1837, and had his grant confirmed by the United States Land Commissioners. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 711.

18. William Knight was a native of Indiana who went to New Mexico, where he married a native and from whence he came to California in 1841 with the Workman-Rowland party. He returned to New Mexico for his family in 1842, and, on his return to California in 1843, settled at what has since been known as Knight's Landing. He had been naturalized in New Mexico, but his papers having been lost, he obtained their renewal in 1844. He was a prominent member of Gantt's company in the service of Micheltorena and later was active in the Bear Flag Revolt.

Soon after the discovery of gold, he established Knight's Ferry on the Stanislaus River. By some he is said to have been a man of culture and to have been educated as a physician, but he was a person of rough ways, violent temper, and fighting spirit. When he died in 1849, he was supposed to be wealthy in money and lands. But his affairs were badly mixed up, and the wealth he was supposed to possess melted into thin air. His title to lands rested on the general title given to Sutter and a fraudulent grant from Pico. The petition of his heirs for confirmation of his title to lands was denied. See Tom Gregory, *History of Yolo County, California*, Los Angeles: Historical Record Company, 1913, pp. 27-28, and Bancroft, *History of California*, IV, 702.

19. This was Granville P. Swift, a native of Kentucky who emigrated from Oregon in the Kelsey party in 1844. He served with the Sutter company in the Micheltorena campaign of 1845. He engaged in the Bear Flag episode in 1846, and later in 1846-47 was the captain of Company C, California Battalion. He was a fine looking man, over six feet in height, a crack shot, of undoubted bravery, and a bitter hater of the Mexicans. He

settled on Stony Creek, Colusa, in 1847. In the days of '49 he made a large fortune in mining on Feather River. He was accidentally killed in 1875 at the age of about 54. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 741.

20. Don and John Murphy were sons of Martin Murphy who came to California in 1844. John Murphy was one of the most prominent of this wealthy Santa Clara County family. *Ibid.*, IV, 749.

21. Nathan Coombs, a native of Massachusetts, arrived in California in 1843 by way of Oregon, in the Hastings party. He was one of Sutter's company in the Micheltorena campaign of 1845. After returning from this campaign, he married and settled on a Napa Valley rancho purchased from Salvador Vallejo. He took no active part in the troubles of 1846. In 1848 he laid out the town of Napa on his rancho. He became wealthy, was active in local politics, served in the legislature of 1855, was captain of militia in 1863, and is best known as a patron of the turf and the owner of blooded stock. *Ibid.*, II, 764.

22. Charles Mackintosh (or McIntosh) was a Cherokee or Delaware half-breed, who came to California in 1843 with the Walker-Chiles party. He was a member of the Gantt section of Sutter's company in the campaign of 1845, and served in the California Battalion in 1846-47, taking part in the Natividad fight, and perhaps in other conflicts. *Ibid.*, IV, 724.

23. Captain Johann August Sutter, the feudal lord of the Sacramento Valley, had at his call a small army, and a considerable number of persons either for adventure or advantage took his advice on this and similar occasions. It is quite certain that he was interested all the time in supporting what he thought might contribute to his own advantage. See *ibid.*, IV, 479-91; Erwin G. Gudde, *Sutter's Own Story*, New York, 1936, pp. 82-123; Julian Dana, *Sutter of California*, New York, 1934, pp. 134-89.

24. This was Peter Sherreback, a native of Denmark, who came to San Francisco by sea in 1840. He was baptized, naturalized and married between 1840 and 1843. Valuable lands came into his possession in 1845. In the same year he aided Sutter in support of Micheltorena. At the municipal election in San Francisco after Montgomery had taken possession for the United States, he was elected collector, and in 1847, presumably while still collector, he was named a member of the council. He was living in San Francisco as late as 1855, but the date of his death is not known. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 719.

25. John Sinclair, who had been in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, came to Monterey in 1839, and in 1840 was at Sutter's Fort. In 1841 he was sent to Honolulu by Sutter on business and, on his return in 1841, was naturalized. In 1842 he took possession of the El Paso rancho north of New Helvetia as the representative of a man named Grimes to whom it was granted in 1844. He became an officer in Sutter's militia and one of Sutter's aids in the Micheltorena campaign. He was at one time *alcalde* of the Sacramento district, and he took part in the relief measures for the Donner party. He died in 1848 while on his way to the States by steamer. *Ibid.*, V, 721.

26. John Gantt was an adventurer who came to California in 1843 as a member of the Chiles-Walker party. He is said to have been at one time an officer in the United States Army. Gantt was one of the officers commanding Sutter's forces in the Micheltorena campaign. After the campaign he made a contract to attack Indian horse thieves for a share of the recovered animals. He was ill at Dr. Marsh's rancho in 1846, and it is likely that sickness prevented his taking part in the troubles of 1846-47. He sought appointment as sub-Indian agent in 1847, proposed to build a saw mill at Napa in 1848, mined on the Feather River in 1849, and died in the Napa Valley late in the same year. *Ibid.*, III, 752. See also Alice B. Maloney, "John Gantt, 'Borderer,'" in Calif. Hist. Soc. *Quarterly*, XVI, 48-60.

27. Charles M. Weber, a native of Germany, was an overland immigrant to California with the Bartleson party in 1841. He was an active trader and business man at San Jose and later at the present location of Stockton where he acquired land in partnership with William Gulnac. During the campaign of the Californians against Micheltorena he was imprisoned at Sutter's Fort. As American occupation drew near, he was friendly to Larkin's plan for bringing the Californians peacefully over to the United States purposes, but he was hostile to Frémont. He collected horses and supplies for the California

Battalion, served with the United States forces during the difficulties, and then settled at Stockton. He added to his wealth through increased property values by successful gold mining. He died in 1881. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 770.

28. The Russians set up an establishment at Bodega Bay in 1811 and 1812, which they called "Ross." They did considerable trade with the Spanish and later with the Mexican Californians. Fort Ross and Bodega Bay continued to be the California headquarters for the Russians until they sold their possessions to Sutter. See Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 294-320; Dimitry Zavalishin, *Russian Affairs of the Ross Colony* (Moscow, 1866; manuscript translation by Mr. Klinhofstrom, in Bancroft Library); E. O. Essig et al., "The Russians in California," in California Historical Society *Quarterly*, Vol. XII, No. 3, September, 1933 (also printed separately as Special Publication No. 7).

29. Isaac Graham, a noted trapper and marksman, who probably came into California with the second Ewing-Young expedition. He had trapped for a time in the Rocky Mountains with the party of which George Nidever was a member. He set up a distillery in the Pajaro Valley, where he gathered about him other adventurous spirits. In 1840 Alvarado caused the arrest of Graham and a number of others who were put on board ship and sent to Mexico. Graham and about half of his companions were allowed to return the following year. See Charles E. Chapman, *History of California*, pp. 474, 479, 482; H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 762-63. It may be that the treatment received by Graham in 1840-41 led him to join Micheltorena's party.

30. Thomas Park was a native of Massachusetts who had been a resident of California since 1835. He acted as supercargo on several vessels and succeeded Alfred Robinson in charge of the business of Bryant & Sturgis. He was naturalized in 1844, and was supercargo of the *Sterling*, 1844-46. He had some education, possessed business ability, but neglected business in later years because of drinking habits. He died in Santa Barbara in 1850. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 767.

31. It was as Frémont returned north from his first conquest of the South that Lieutenant Theodore Talbot was left in command of the Santa Barbara garrison. Talbot had come to California with Frémont in 1844, and again in 1845, and in California acted as Frémont's confidential agent. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 742.

32. Lieutenant Archibald H. Gillespie was placed in charge at Los Angeles, by Stockton, with a garrison of fifty men, after Stockton and Frémont had taken possession of the South. Due to the lawless character of the Los Angeles population, and to Gillespie's inability to deal wisely with difficulties, a man named Serbula Varrela started trouble. The force of the malcontents grew, and even paroled officers of the Californians accepted leadership in the revolt. Captain José Maria Flores was chosen to act as comandante general, hence the designation of "Flores revolt." Gillespie and his forces gave up, marched out with the honors of war, and embarked at San Pedro. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 756.

33. The men of the Santa Barbara garrison were: Theodore Talbot, lieutenant and in charge; Thomas E. Breckenridge; Eugene Russell; Charles Sriver; John Stevens; Joseph Moulton; Francis Briggs; Durand; William, a Chinook Indian; and Manuel, a New Mexican. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 316, footnote 31, from testimony of Russell and Breckenridge in *Frémont's California Claims*, pp. 52-54.

34. Eugene Russell was one of Frémont's men in 1845. Later he was a member of company A, California Battalion. He applied for land in the San José district in 1846, but there seems to be no further information about him. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 707.

35. Thomas M. Robbins had been in California most of the time since 1823. About 1830 he opened a store and settled in Santa Barbara, where he married a daughter of Carlos Carrillo. In 1837-39 he commanded the schooner *California* which was in the service of Alvarado and Vallejo, and received an honorary commission as captain in the Mexican Navy. His grant to Positas Ranch or La Calera rancho was received in 1846. He had the reputation for being a hospitable and good natured old fellow, whose store was a general rendezvous for traders and men of the sea. He died in 1857. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 697.

36. Daniel Hill was a native of Massachusetts who settled in Santa Barbara in the '20's, married Rafaela Ortega, and acted, according to Robinson, as "a sort of factotum

for the whole town, carpenter or mason by turns as his services were needed." He leased the Santa Barbara Mission in 1845 and became grantee of La Goleta rancho in 1846. He died in 1865. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 785; J. D. Mason, *History of Santa Barbara County*, p. 46; Yda Addis Storke, *A Memorial and Biographical History of the Counties of Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo and Ventura*, p. 36.

37. William D. Phelps, in *Fore and Aft*, pp. 313-14, gives a different version of this. See also *Frémont's California Claims*, pp. 52-53, and *Niles' Register*, Vol. 72, p. 81.

38. Alpheus B. Thompson, a native of Maine, who may have arrived in California as early as 1825. From 1825-30, he was supercargo of the schooner *Washington*. Between 1831 and 1838, he was supercargo of other vessels. After 1834 he considered Santa Barbara his home and there he engaged in business for many years. Francisca, daughter of Carlos Carrillo, became his wife in 1834, and died in 1841. On her death, he and their children became part owners of Santa Rosa Island, which Carlos Carrillo had conveyed to his daughters, after it had been granted to him by the Mexican Government. Thompson died in 1869 at the age of 74. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 746; Storke, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

39. Isaac Sparks arrived in Los Angeles in April, 1832, with Ewing Young's second expedition. He came to Santa Barbara soon after his arrival, where he became one of the group of noted otter hunters who resided there. In 1834 he removed the Indians from San Nicolas Island in the ship *Peor es Nada*. In 1835, and for a number of years thereafter, he lived in Santa Barbara, where he kept a store, and where he built the first brick house in Santa Barbara, which was later known as the Park Hotel. He early became a Catholic, asked for naturalization, and in 1839 became grantee of a rancho; Huasna rancho of San Luis Obispo was also granted to him in 1843. In 1846-47 he served rather unwillingly for a time under Frémont. See *Life and Adventures of George Nidever*, edited by William Henry Ellison, University of California Press, 1937, pp. 68-73. He gave up hunting after 1848, undertook mining for a short time without success, and later was a rancher in San Luis Obispo County until his death in 1867. See also Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 729, and detailed reference there.

40. The town of Nipomo is located on land granted to William Goodwin Dana, a native of Boston, who had come to California from Hawaii in 1826 as master of the brig *Waverley*. He was baptized in 1827, provisionally naturalized in 1828, and in the same year married Josefa, the sixteen-year-old daughter of Don Carlos Carrillo. Twenty-one children were born of this union. He was made appraiser for La Purisima Mission in 1835; he engaged in trade, agriculture, and stock raising, and was captain of the Santa Barbara port for some years, according to George Nidever. (See *Life and Adventures of George Nidever*, p. 36.) In 1836 he was made *alcalde* of Santa Barbara. One source of his revenue for a number of years was the letting out of his otter hunting license to foreigners who could get no papers, they paying him a percentage of the catch. The Nipomo rancho was granted him in 1837, and from 1839 he lived most of his time there. He is said to have been a man of character and marked influence. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 774; Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Storke, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

41. San Simeon rancho, now the property of William Randolph Hearst, was granted in 1842 to José Ramon Estrada, who was then prefect of the first district. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 793.

42. He was the son of Rafael Vallavicencio who was in San José as early as 1793. Rafael Vallavicencio, the son, had his place in San Luis Obispo 1842-60. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 763.

43. Little is known of Joaquin Valenzuela except that he was in Los Angeles in 1839, that he was 29 years of age at the time, that he was *juez de campo* at San Gabriel in 1846-47, that he was in Santa Barbara in 1850, and that he was evidently there or at least known by Santa Barbarans earlier. It would appear from the reference to him here that he was well known by Streeter. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 755.

44. This was the Santa Rosa rancho granted in 1841 to Julian Estrada, son of José Mariana Estrada, who was one of the most influential and respected men in northern California. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 793.

45. Francis Zeba Branch was a native of New York who had come to California with the Wolfskill party in 1831. He hunted for a few years before opening a store in Santa

Barbara which he sold in 1837. He was naturalized in 1839 and received from Alvarado a grant of the Santa Manuela rancho in the same year. He died in 1872. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 727.

46. John Wilson, a Scotch shipmaster and trader, arrived in California in 1826 as master of the *Tbos. Nowlan*. In the years following, he was shipmaster of a number of vessels. From 1839-47 he was a partner of James Scott, with whom he purchased the San Luis Obispo estate. He became grantee of the ranchos, Cañada del Chorro and Cañada de los Osos, where he spent the rest of his life, his death occurring in 1860. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 777.

47. Miguel Avila was born in Santa Barbara in 1796. He was educated in San Francisco and was a copyist for a time at Monterey. He served in several capacities, military and civil, both in Monterey and in San Luis Obispo. He was grantee of San Miguelito rancho in 1842 and 1846, and of Laguna rancho in 1845. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 706.

48. Manuel de Jesus Castro was a prime mover in the revolt against Micheltorena. On the outbreak of the Flores revolt, he was put in command of the northern division, and in 1847 fled to Mexico with Flores. Although he never became an American citizen, after 1852 and until 1885 he resided for the most part in San Francisco. His record is not above reproach in that he yielded to temptations offered by land litigation, politics, and dislike of the Yankees. Bancroft compliments him highly for one thing, namely, the turning over to him and to his men of great stores of material for California history. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, I, 753, and page references given there.

49. Raymundo Carrillo was clerk and administrator of the Santa Barbara Mission, 1836-38; sub-prefect, 1839-40; secretary of the *juez*, 1841; grantee of San Miguel rancho, 1841; *juez* at Santa Barbara and grantee of Nojoqui rancho, 1843; elector in 1845, and *comandante*, 1846. From the time when the United States had established its authority, Carrillo accepted the change and filled a number of offices under the United States. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 746; *Life and Adventures of George Nidever*, pp. 64, 65, 67-68; Agustin Janssens, *Documentos para la historia de California* (MS in Bancroft Library), pp. 56-57; J. D. Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

50. Gumesindo Flores had a checkered military career for several years from 1834. From 1839-42 he was *comandante* at Monterey; and from 1842-46 he held the same office at Santa Barbara, where in 1845 he was leader in an outbreak of troops. He continued to live in Santa Barbara until he was shot and killed in 1860. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 741.

51. José Antonio Carrillo, the son of José Raymundo, was born in San Francisco in 1796. He was a leading instigator against Governor Victoria, 1831-32; favored Pico against Echeandia in 1832; was in Mexico, 1835-36; and on his return in 1837 he tried unsuccessfully to rule California by making his brother, Don Carlos, governor. With his brother he was grantee of Santa Rosa Island, 1843. His opposition to Micheltorena was not at first open, but in 1845 he was finally induced to join the revolutionists. When the new administration came in in 1845, he became lieutenant colonel of the militia, and served in a leading capacity on the military side of the administration for a time. In 1846, however, he was banished to the frontier by Governor Pico because he became a northern partisan favoring Castro. He was active in the Flores revolt, although at one time he was involved in a plot against Flores, and he resumed his allegiance for the final struggle. He was the Mexican commissioner signing the treaty of Cahuenga in 1847. In 1849 he was a member of the constitutional convention, which was his final activity. He died in Santa Barbara in 1862. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 745.

52. Probably refers to Isaac Sparks, see *supra*.

53. Lewis T. Burton, a native of Tennessee, came to California with the Wolfskill party in 1831 and settled in Santa Barbara, where he was active as an otter hunter, a trader, and later a farmer. He married Antonia, a daughter of Carlos Carrillo. His name is perpetuated in Santa Barbara in "Burton Mound," an elevation of ground at the beach, where the famous Potter Hotel stood, and which was excavated in 1923 for Indian remains. *Life and Adventures of George Nidever*, pp. 36, 37, 58, 75; Bancroft, *op. cit.*,

II, 738; Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 48; Storke, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 37; J. P. Harrington, *Explorations of the Burton Mound at Santa Barbara, California*, Washington, 1928, pp. 31-33, 58-60.

54. On May 13, 1846, Colonel Jonathan D. Stevenson of New York City was authorized to recruit a regiment to be sent to California. The men were enlisted and became known as the 1st N. Y. Volunteers. The regiment left New York on September 26, 1846. Each of three transports carried three complete companies and part of another. Two hundred more recruits sailed on two other vessels in August, 1847. The first vessel reached San Francisco on March 6, 1847, and the other by April 19. Companies A, B, and F were assigned to Santa Barbara under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Henry S. Burton. They arrived on April 8. Company F remained at Santa Barbara during the whole term of its service, but A and B sailed for La Paz on July 4, leaving Captain Lippitt in command. This company was mustered out on September 8. A most interesting account of the arrival in Santa Barbara and of experiences while there is given in Walter Murray, *Narrative of a California Volunteer* (MS in Bancroft Library). Murray was a private of Company A, who was detailed as cook while at Governor's Island. His narrative is the most complete there is on the enlistment, encampment in New York, voyage of the *Loo Choo*, and the experience of his own and of other companies that served at Santa Barbara and in Lower California. Murray later became a prominent citizen of California. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 743; see also *The Journal of John McHenry Hollingsworth of the First New York Volunteers*, S. F.: California Historical Society, 1923.

55. Anastasio Carrillo, the son of José Raimundo, was born in Santa Barbara in 1788. In course of time he became a military officer, and he also served as commissioner in numerous capacities, one of which was service in the secularization of the Santa Barbara Mission. He retired from the army on full pay in 1836. He was grantee of Point Concepcion and of Cieneguita rancho. Previous to and at the time of the American occupation, he was a prominent man in Santa Barbara, and he was still regarded as an important figure for some years after the occupation, as is shown in Streeter's narrative. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 743.

56. Edward A. King was master of the American brig *Elizabeth* that was on the coast from Honolulu during the year 1847 and was wrecked near Santa Barbara in February, 1848. The *Primavera* was a Mexican brig which was on the coast from April, 1847. It was sold in June by creditors at Los Angeles to E. Célis, and resold to King. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 577, 580. Streeter evidently confused the two vessels. King was a lumber dealer and underwriters' agent at Monterey in 1848, and master of the *Hope*. In 1849 he was harbormaster at San Francisco. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 700.

57. In his summarization of the "lost cannon" incident, Bancroft says that the six-pound gun belonged to the *Elizabeth*, that it was carried from the barracks for shipment, and that it disappeared in the night of April 5, 1848. When efforts to find it were unsuccessful, some said it had been carried in a cart toward Los Angeles, while others declared it had been put on board a vessel. The authorities were inclined to connect the cannon's disappearance with current rumors of revolt, and they believed Barbarenos would clear up the mystery if pressure were put upon them. The local officials and prominent citizens were offended at the suspicion cast upon them, but they were not able to learn who had taken the gun. At the end of May, Governor Mason imposed a military contribution of five hundred dollars upon the town. This was to be paid pro rata by all of the inhabitants, but to be repaid to the town on discovery of the guilty individuals, or on proof that they were not residents of Santa Barbara. This caused indignation and resignations of a number of local officials; but the amount was collected, and in August was turned over to the *alcalde* to be used as a municipal fund. It appears from documents that five men, probably without the knowledge of others and with some vague idea that the gun might be useful in some rising of Mexicans, dragged it onto the beach and buried it in the sand. It was found some ten years later. The record does not show that the municipal fund was ever devoted to public uses, but the affair gave names to two streets in the town, *Cañon Perdido* and *Quinientos Pesos*. See Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 586-87, and footnote. It will be seen that this summarization differs in some details from that of Streeter, and what the actual facts are will never be certainly known.

58. James J. Jarvis was trading on the coast in 1847-48 for a merchant of Honolulu named Everett. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 691.

59. This refers to Alexander M. Branchi, O.F.M., who came to California from Oregon in May, 1849, and became priest at Ventura where he remained until 1851, when he departed for other fields. On August 8 of this same year he was granted leave to retire. Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, San Francisco, 1915, IV, 616, 685, 686, 690.

60. The person referred to as Poli is no doubt Narciso Botello who came from Sonora to California in 1833 and who from 1836 until 1843 was connected with civil offices. He was a grantee of land at San Juan Capistrano in 1841, and with José Arnaz was lessee of San Buenaventura Mission in 1845 for \$1,630 per year. There was an Indian population at the Mission at this time of about 200. Botello was active against the American invasion, associated with Governor Flores in 1846-47, grantee of La Cienega, made attempts at gold mining and business, 1848-50; and became in later years justice of the peace and notary public. See Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 725; IV, 553, 645.

61. José Arnaz was a Spaniard who came to California as a supercargo of the *Clara*. In 1844 he operated a store in Los Angeles, but suffered great losses from the depredations of the *cholos*. With Narciso Botello he leased the Mission San Buenaventura for \$1,630 a year in 1845. In June, 1846, Governor Pico sold him the Mission for \$12,000. He was ousted as lessee in 1848 and his title to ownership was confirmed by the land commissioners and the United States courts, but later the sale was declared illegal because Governor Pico was held to have no authority to sell anything pertaining to the missions, and because in addition the title was given by Governor Pico after American occupation and antedated to 1846. Finally, in 1862, President Lincoln by patent gave and granted ownership to Joseph S. Alemany, Bishop of Monterey, and to his successors. See Engelhardt, *San Buenaventura*, pp. 86-98; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 562, 564.

62. There was also a federal officer connected with this port at this time. An act of September 28, 1850, created additional collection districts in the state of California. Among the districts created was that of San Diego, which included the counties of San Diego, Los Angeles, and Santa Barbara. The towns of Santa Barbara and San Pedro, in the collection district of San Diego, were constituted ports of delivery for the district.

63. Stephen W. Kearny was for many years an officer in the United States Army, and, as colonel of the First Dragoons from 1836-46, was stationed much of the time at Fort Leavenworth. When the war with Mexico broke out, he was made brigadier general and sent from New Mexico to occupy California. The battle of San Pasqual, not far from San Diego, was the severest battle of the Mexican War in California, and must be recorded as a defeat for the small American force. He joined with Stockton in effecting the final conquest in California. Later, he became involved in a controversy with Stockton and Frémont as to his military position in the conquered province. He acted as military governor from March 1 to May 31, 1847, when he returned East overland, and served as the chief agent in the prosecution of Frémont in his court martial. He died in 1848. His name is attached to one of San Francisco's principal streets. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 696, and detailed references there.

64. Andrés Pico was a prominent Californian who before the United States invasion had served in military and civil capacities in San Diego, San Luis Rey, San Juan Capistrano, and Los Angeles. In 1846 he ranked as a captain, and when Castro fled he was chief in command in the south. He surrendered and was paroled with other officers, but broke his parole to serve under Flores. As commander of the Californians at the Battle of San Pasqual, he achieved what many regard as his outstanding success. He was left by Flores in chief command of the revolting forces, took part in small engagements in January, 1847, and concluded with Frémont the treaty of Cahuenga which closed the war in California. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 766; V, 336-37, 385.

65. Doctor John S. Griffin was an assistant surgeon of the United States Army, who had come to California in 1846 with Kearny from New Mexico. He was present at the battle of San Pasqual and several others, and served at San Diego and at Los Angeles in charge of the military hospital. After the peace with Mexico, he continued in the army until 1854, when he resigned and took up the practice of medicine in Los Angeles.

66. Though he was bitterly hostile to the change which put the United States in charge in California, he served as mayor of Santa Barbara from 1850-51.

67. W. E. P. Hartnell, who married Maria Theresa de la Guerra, came to California on the *John Begg* from Peru to establish a business connection in California for the firm of McCulloch, Hartnell, and Company, agents of Begg and Company of England. The business prospered for a few years. (See "Hides and Tallow," by Adele Ogden, in Calif. Hist. Soc. *Quarterly*, VI, 254-64.) Hartnell held many offices in succession in the following years. Being well educated and a linguist, he acted as interpreter, teacher, and an officer of customs. A native of Lancashire, England, he was somewhat unfriendly to the United States until he lost all hope of an English protectorate. After the United States occupation, he held many offices and rendered much service until his death in 1854. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 777.

68. Joaquin de la Guerra was one of the least known of the family. He was once sheriff, had no family, and died before 1870. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 768.

69. James L. Ord came to California as surgeon with Company F, Third U. S. Artillery. He came under contract and not as an officer in the Army. As a physician-farmer he remained in California. His wife's manuscript, *Occurencias de California*, dictated by her in 1878 and now in the Bancroft Library, furnishes interesting information for California history. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 759.

70. This was Jimeno Casarin, a native of Mexico, who came to California in 1828. He held a number of offices previous to the American occupation. In the troubles of 1845-47 he appears to have taken no active part. In his later years, his whole attention was given to business. Early in 1853 he went to Mexico where he died in December of that year. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 692.

71. At the age of 23, Alfred Robinson came to California as agent of Bryant and Sturgis, Boston. His first visit was in the early 20's and from that time until shortly before the American occupation he served as a supercargo of vessels purchasing hides and selling goods on the California coast. His work, *Life in California*, published anonymously in 1846, is a valuable account of affairs and people in California of this period. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 698.

72. A Spaniard of French descent, Cesareo Lataillade came to California as supercargo of the *Trinidad*, and soon took up residence in Santa Barbara. From 1846 he was vice-consul of Spain at Monterey, but was allowed to reside at Santa Barbara. He was grantee of the Cuyamas rancho in 1846. He accidentally shot and killed himself at Santa Barbara in 1849. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 708.

73. Gaspar Orena was a Spanish trader in California around 1843, and served as supercargo of the *Guipuzcoana* in 1846. He later (1850-85) became a wealthy resident of Santa Barbara. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 759.

74. For confirmation of these facts see Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 768, 769; J. D. Mason, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

75. The Belgian, Victor Eugène Auguste Janssens, at the age of 17 came to California from Mexico in 1834 with the Hijar and Padrés colony. In 1841 he was naturalized, and in 1842 married a daughter of Vicente Pico. Later he was a partner of Lataillade, of Santa Barbara. In 1844 he obtained the rancho of Lomas de la Purificacion. In 1846 he was justice of the peace at Santa Ynez, and under the Flores government was military commander of that region. He lived on his rancho until about 1856, and later resided at Santa Barbara, where in 1878 he dictated for Bancroft his *Vida y Aventuras*. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 691.

WESTERN HISTORY

*A Check List of Recent Items Relating to California and the West**

BOLTON, HERBERT EUGENE

Outpost of empire. The story of the founding of San Francisco. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939. xxi + 334 pp. + xvii pp. of index; many ills. and maps. [A new edition of the book which was first published in 1931.]

BOWLEN, FREDERICK J.

San Francisco Fire Department history. Articles appearing daily in the San Francisco *Chronicle*, beginning with May 14, 1939. [Mr. Bowlen has been a member of the San Francisco Fire Department since 1903 and now ranks as senior battalion chief.]

[BROOKMAN, DONALD]

Trinity Church, San Francisco, California. [San Francisco: Trinity Church, 1939.] [A small pamphlet containing 11 portraits of the rectors of Trinity Church, from the Rev. Flavel Scott Mines (1849-1852), the first rector, to Dr. Brookman, who holds the office today.]

BUSHNELL, DAVID I., JR.

Drawings by George Gibbs in the Far Northwest, 1849-1851. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections Vol. 97, No. 8. City of Washington: Smithsonian Institution, December 30, 1938. 28 pp., 18 plates. [Includes drawings of the Plaza at Sonoma, Clear Lake and Valley, Redwood tree, and the Shasta Butte and Valley, 1851.]

DRURY, AUBREY

California: an intimate guide. New York and London: Harper & Brothers [1939]. xxviii + 593 pp., incl. index; many ills. [A new edition of the book which was first published in 1935. A chapter on the Golden Gate International Exposition has been added.]

ELLENBECKER, JOHN G.

The Jayhawkers of Death Valley. Marysville, Kansas: privately printed, 1938. 130 pp.; ills.

ELLIS, W. T.

Memories: my seventy-two years in the romantic county of Yuba, California, with an introduction by Richard Belcher. Eugene: The University of Oregon, printed by John Henry Nash, 1939. xv + 308 pp.; ills.

FREEMAN, LESLIE J. (compiler)

The Peraltas of San Leandro; a brief history of their settlement in Alameda County. [San Leandro: San Leandro Chamber of Commerce, 1939.] [A small pamphlet of 16 unnumbered pages.]

GLEESON, RICHARD A., S.J.

Dominic Giacobbi, a noble Corsican. New York: The America Press [1938]. xi + 285 pp.; port. [Father Dominic came to California in 1872 and spent most of his life here.]

GORHAM, HARRY M.

My memories of the Comstock. As I was telling my son and his sons. Los Angeles: Sutton House [1939]. 222 pp. Illustrated with drawings by John and Marie Gorham.

*Readers will confer a favor by furnishing out-of-the-way items for notice in this department. We shall cite books, pamphlets, broadsides, magazines, and important newspaper articles of historical value. Send to the Secretary the items themselves or a card with the title written in the form used here.

HALL, CARROLL DOUGLAS

The Terry-Broderick duel. San Francisco: the Colt Press [1939]. 89 pp. Illustrated with woodcuts by Mallette Dean.

HARTE, BRET

The adventure of Padre Vicente: a legend of San Francisco. Berkeley: W. & E. Bentley, 1939. Unpaged. Illustrated with woodcuts by Hans.

HOOVER, MILDRED BROOKE

California before the gold rush. In *National Historical Magazine*, National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, April, 1939, pp. 33-37.

HOWAY, F. W.

An early colonization scheme in British Columbia. In *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, January, 1939.

—The Negro immigration into Vancouver Island in 1858. In *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, April, 1939.

ISSLER, ANNE ROLLER

Stevenson at Silverado. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1939. 247 pp.; ills.

KENNEDY, HELEN WEBER and KINZIE, VERONICA K. [compilers]

Vignettes of the gardens of San Jose de Guadalupe. San Francisco: The San Francisco Garden Club, December, 1938. 51 + [3] pp.; 2 maps and a facsimile.

LANE, ALLEN STANLEY

Emperor Norton the mad monarch of America. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1939. 286 pp. incl. bibliog.; ills.

LIENHARD, HEINRICH

I knew Sutter. Translated from the original German by students of German at C. K. McClatchy Senior High School. Sacramento: The Nugget Press, 1939. ix + 25 pp.; frontis. [Set up, printed and bound by students of printing at C. K. McClatchy Senior High School.]

LONGINOS MARTÍNEZ, JOSÉ

California in 1792. The Expedition of José Longinos Martínez. Translated by Lesley Byrd Simpson. San Marino, California: [The Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery] 1938. xiii + 111 pp.; map.

MEYER, CARL

Prospectus to form a society for emigration to California, translated from the German edition of 1852 by Ruth Frey Axe. Claremont, California: Saunders Studio Press, 1938. 26 pp.

MOORE, J. H.

Fifty years of research at the Lick Observatory. [With Wright, W. H., The founding of the Lick Observatory, reprinted from the *Publications* of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific, Vol. 50, Nos. 295 and 296, June and August, 1938.] Pp. 16-30 of reprint; ills.

NEUHAUS, EUGEN

William Keith the man and artist. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1938. [xv] + 95 pp.; ills. (incl. colored frontis.)

NEVINS, ALLAN

Frémont: pathmarker of the West. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939. xiv + 649 pp. (incl. bibliog. note and index); ills., maps.

O'NEILL, R. E.

Early transportation. In *News Letter and Wasp*, April 21 and April 28, 1939. Articles by Captain O'Neill on other historical subjects have appeared in other issues of this magazine.

PILLSBURY, E. S.

From the diary of E. S. Pillsbury. Extract under date of December 31, 1864. [San Francisco: Privately printed for H. D. Pillsbury, 1938.] 3 pp.

PUBLIC RELATIONS COMMITTEE

San Francisco Stock Exchange: history, organization, operation. [San Francisco:] Public Relations Committee, 1939. 27 pp.

ROGERS, FRED B.

Soldiers of the overland; being some account of the services of General Patrick Edward Connor & his Volunteers in the Old West. San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1938 [xiv] + 290 pp.; ill., maps. [The author traces the doings of the California Volunteers under Connor while guarding the Overland Stage route from Utah west, the founding of Fort Douglas adjacent to Salt Lake City, and the movements of troops in the Rocky Mountain and Great Basin area during the period of the Civil War. A forthright recital of a little known subject.]

ROSSKAM, EDWIN

The faces of America. San Francisco West Coast metropolis. With an introduction by William Saroyan. New York: Alliance Book Corporation [1939]. 136 pp.; many ill.

SHEPHERD, CHARLES R.

The story of Chung Mei. Being the authentic history of the Chung Mei Home for Chinese Boys up to its fifteenth anniversary, October, 1938. Philadelphia: The Judson Press [1938]. [xv] + 264 pp.; ill.

SHIELS, ARCHIE W.

San Juan Islands, the Cronstadt of the Pacific. Juneau, Alaska: Empire Printing Company, 1938. 275 pp.; map.

STEVENSON, ROBERT LOUIS

An unpublished letter written by Robert Louis Stevenson on early California photography. [San Francisco: privately printed for Marjory and Francis Farquhar by The Grabhorn Press, 1938.] 3 pp.; frontis.

STEWART, JULIAN H.

Basin-plateau aboriginal sociopolitical groups. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938. Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology *Bulletin* 120. xii + 346 pp., incl. index. [Includes Death Valley and Owens Valley regions as well as large areas in Nevada, Utah and Idaho.]

STOKES, JOHN F. G.

Hawaii's discovery by Spaniards; theories traced and refuted. Extract Hawaiian Historical Society *Papers*, Number 20, Honolulu, 1939, pp. 39-113.

SUSSMAN, EMILIE

My trip to Yosemite from the journal of Emilie Sussman, 1872. San Francisco: [Grabhorn Press], 1939. 7 pp. + title and colophon.

SUTTER, JOHN A.

New Helvetia diary; a record of events kept by John A. Sutter and his clerks at New Helvetia, California, from September 9, 1845, to May 25, 1848. San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press in arrangement with The Society of California Pioneers. xxviii + 138 + [viii] pp. of "Persons at the Fort"; colored frontis., map. [One of

the foremost sources of information concerning Sutter, New Helvetia and those with whom he was associated during 1845-48. Printed from the original owned by The Society of California Pioneers, with an introduction by Helen Putnam Van Sicklen.]

TAFT, ROBERT

Photographs and the American scene. A social history, 1839-1889. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938. x + 546 pp., incl. index; many ills. [Includes notes about Jones' Pantoscope and the work of A. A. Hart, Eadweard Muybridge, Robert H. Vance, and C. E. Watkins.]

U. S. WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION

Almanac for thirty-niners. Compiled by the workers of the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Project Administration in the City of San Francisco. Stanford University: James Ladd Delkin [1938]. 127 pp.; illus. by small drawings.

—Federal Writers' Project. American Guide series. The Oregon Trail. The Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean. Sponsored by Oregon Trail Memorial Association, Inc. New York: Hastings House [1939]. xii + 247 pp., incl. index; ills.

—History of journalism in San Francisco. Emerson Daggett, supervisor. San Francisco, 1939. [Mimeographed.] Vol. I—History of foreign journalism in San Francisco. iv + 95 pp. Vol. II—Frontier journalism in San Francisco. ii + 171 pp.; ills.

—History of Music Project. [Mimeographed.] Cornel Lengyel, editor. Volume One. Music of the Gold Rush era. San Francisco, 1939. [v] + 21 pp.; ills. Volume Two. A San Francisco Songster, 1849-1939. An anthology of songs sung in San Francisco from the gold rush era to the present. . . . ix + 208 pp. incl. index and bibliog.

—Inventory of county archives of California. No. 44. Santa Clara County (San Jose). San Francisco: The Historical Records Survey, 1939. [Mimeographed.] vi + 330 pp.

—Oakland 1852-1938. Some phases of the social, political and economic history of Oakland, California. Editors: Edgar J. Hinkel, William E. McCann. Oakland: The Oakland Public Library, 1939. [Mimeographed.] 2 vols. Vol. I, xxi + 455 pp.; Vol. II, pp. 456-945.

—San Francisco Theatre Research monographs. [Mimeographed.] Lawrence Estavan, editor. Vol. 7. XVII. The history of opera in San Francisco. Part I. [viii] + 136 pp.; ills. Vol. 8. XVIII. The history of opera in San Francisco, Part II. [vii] + 165 pp.; ills.

WILSON, ALBERT [compiler]

Distinctive trees, shrubs, and vines in the gardens of the San Francisco Peninsula. Menlo Park, California: [printed for the author], 1938. ix + 182 pp. including index.

WOLF, CARL B.

California plant notes II. Rancho Santa Ana Botanic Garden *Occasional Papers*, Series I, No. 2, September, 1938. Pp. 44-90; ills.

—The North American species of *Rhamnus*. Rancho Santa Ana Botanic Garden Monographs, Botanical Series, No. 1, September, 1938. 136 pp.; ills.

WRIGHT, W. H.

The founding of Lick Observatory. [With Moore, J. H., Fifty years of research at the Lick Observatory, q. v.] Pp. 3-15 of reprint.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

ON Tuesday, March 21, Mr. John S. Fox, Teaching Assistant in the Department of History, University of California, spoke before the luncheon meeting of the California Historical Society in the Sir Francis Drake Hotel, his subject being, "The Mexican Background of Mining Exploitation in California."

Mr. Fox pointed out how the mining activities of the Spanish colonists in America, by putting into circulation vast accumulations of precious metals, affected the whole course of world history. The seizure of the Aztec treasure hoards was soon followed by a search for mineral deposits. Silver, the chief metal of New Spain, began to be mined in Michoacan and Jalisco in 1520, but the first great mining rush was in 1549 to Zacatecas, the prototype for all later boom mining towns in North America.

The speaker traced the ever expanding frontier of New Spain, which stopped short of California and thus had little direct influence on this State; but he showed that certain institutional practices and industrial techniques had a direct influence on our mining activities.

In connection with the amalgamation process with quicksilver, which was introduced at Pachuca in New Spain about 1565, the arrastra, a rotary grinding mill, sometimes worked by water power and sometimes by horses or mules, was used. It was later to be found in many quartz mining districts in California before the more efficient stamp mill was introduced.

The institution of the alcaldeship was also inherited from New Spain. During the transition and the early mining days in California, many towns elected alcaldes as chief civil officers to run their affairs.

In conclusion, Mr. Fox stated that present day mining in the whole western part of North America might be considered a logical continuation of a stream of mining development which started in the early Sixteenth Century in New Spain.

The Society held its regular monthly luncheon meeting on Tuesday, April 25, at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel. The speaker was Ezra Decoto, former District Attorney of Alameda County. His subject was "A Buggy Ride in 1854 in Alameda County."

Starting at the little settlement at the foot of Broadway, he took the party to the little towns that dotted the few lines of communication then in existence. Many unfamiliar names were mentioned. Some settlements lost their identity by absorption into present day Oakland, others changed their names by choice of later inhabitants. Anecdotes of people and places were given as the ride progressed. The speaker gave a good picture of the sparsely settled country which was changed into a relatively prosperous farming community

in a very few years by established land titles. We do not often have glimpses of the conditions that accompanied the squatter era.

There were forty-three members and guests present.

The Society met for luncheon at the Sir Francis Drake Hotel on Tuesday, May 23, 1939, to hear Evelyn Wells, the well-known writer, speak on "Characters of the Champagne Period in San Francisco."

She sketched for the audience a number of the figures that were prominently identified with the period that she has christened San Francisco's "Champagne Days" in her recent book. A number of amusing anecdotes went with the procession of characters.

Sixty-two members and guests were present at the meeting.

ANSON S. BLAKE.

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

March 1, 1939, through May 31, 1939

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—*California literary pamphlets*, Nos. 4-5, S. F.: Book Club of California, 1936; Ellis W. T., *Memories, my seventy-two years in the romantic county of Yuba, California*, Eugene: Univ. of Oregon, 1939; Fenn, William Purviance, *Ah Sin and his brethren in American literature*, Peiping, China: College of Chinese Studies, 1935; Fernald, Chester Bailey, *The gentleman in the barrel* (Six California tales), S. F.: Book Club of California, Feb., 1939; Hall, Carroll D., *The Terry-Broderick duel*, S. F.: Colt Press [1939]; Hart, Bret, *The adventure of Padre Vicentio; a legend of San Francisco*, Berkeley: W. & E. Bentley, 1939; Priestley, Herbert Ingram, *The contemporary program of nationalization in Mexico*, March, 1939; Roskam, Edwin, *San Francisco, west coast metropolis*, N. Y.: Alliance Book Corp. [c. 1939]; Sibley, Robert, ed., *The golden book of California*, Berkeley: California Alumni Association, 1937; Sill, Edward Rowland, *California winter*, Berkeley, 1938; Sterling, George, *Ode on the opening of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition*, S. F., 1915; Sutter, John A., *New Helvetia Diary, . . . September 9, 1845, to May 25, 1848*, San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1939; U. S. Works Progress Administration, *History of music in San Francisco series*, Vols. I-II; University of California, *Report of the President, 1936-1938*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939; Young, Ella, *Marzilian and other poems*, Oceano, Calif., 1938; and other items.

From MR. ANSON S. BLAKE—*British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, Vol. III, Nos. 1 and 2, Jan. and April, 1939.

From C. K. McCLATCHY SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL—Lienhard, Heinrich, *I knew Sutter*, Sacramento: Nugget Press, 1939.

From MRS. E. D. COBLENTZ—Hall, Carroll D., *The Terry-Broderick duel*, S. F.: Colt Press [1939]; Wells, Evelyn, *Champagne days*, N. Y.: Appleton-Century Company, 1939.

From MR. W. T. ELLIS—Ellis, W. T., *Memories, my seventy-two years in the romantic county of Yuba, California*, Eugene: Univ. of Oregon, 1939.

From MR. LESLIE J. FREEMAN—Freeman, Leslie J., comp., *The Peraltas of San Leandro*, n. d.

From CHARLES F. GRIFFIN, M.D.—*Municipal Reports of San Francisco*, 1914-15, 1916-17.

From MRS. THEODORE J. HOOVER—*National historical magazine* of the D.A.R., containing "California before the Gold Rush," by Mildred Brooke Hoover.

From MR. HENRY B. HOUSE—Hofmann, Joseph A., *Photogravures of the Mid-winter Fair*, N. Y.: A. Wittemann, 1894; Hofmann, Joseph A., *San Francisco, California. Photogravures*, N. Y.: A. Wittemann, 1894.

From MR. EDGAR M. KAHN—San Francisco Stock Exchange, *History, organization, operation*, Public Relations Committee, Feb., 1939.

From A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D.—Richardson, James D., *A compilation of the messages and papers of the Presidents*, Bureau of National Literature and Art, 1910, Vols. I-XI.

From MR. LEWIS McARTHUR—Bushnell, David I., Jr., *Drawings by George Gibbs in the far northwest, 1849-1851*, Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1938.

From OAKLAND PUBLIC LIBRARY—U. S. Works Progress Administration, *Oakland 1852-1938*, Oakland, Public Library, 1939.

From CAPT. R. E. O'NEILL—*News letter and Wasp*, Mar. 24, 31, Apr. 7, 21, 28, 1939, containing articles by Capt. R. E. O'Neill.

From MAJOR FRED B. ROGERS and GRABHORN PRESS—Rogers, Fred B., *Soldiers of the overland*, S. F.: Grabhorn Press, 1938.

From MONSIEUR DE SAINT HELION—Madelène, Henry de la, *Le Comte Gaston de Raousset-Boulbon*, Paris: Poulet-Malassis et de Broise, 1859; "C^{te} de Raousset-Boulbon (1817-1854)," article in *Les contemporains*, Dec. 5, 1896.

From ALBERT SHUMATE, M.D.—Gleeson, Richard A., *Dominic Giaccobi, a noble Corsican*, N. Y.: America Press [c. 1938].

From MR. JOHN F. G. STOKES—Stokes, John F. G., *Hawaii's discovery by Spaniards; theories traced and refuted*, Honolulu, 1939.

From U. S. WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION—*History of journalism in San Francisco*, Vols. I-II, 1939; *History of music in San Francisco series*, Vols. I-II, 1939; *Inventory of the County Archives of California*, No. 44, Santa Clara County (San Jose), April, 1939.

From MR. HENRY R. WAGNER—Committee of Mexican bondholders, *Report . . . presented . . . 26th February, 1855*, London: Letts, Son & Steer, 1855; Committee of Mexican bondholders, *The second report*, London: Letts, Son and Steer, 1850; Howay, F. W., *Captain George Vancouver*, Toronto: Ryerson Press [c. 1932]; Jones, R. C., *Prominent San Franciscans (in caricature)*, San Francisco: C. A. Murdock & Co. [c. 1908]; Mexico, Secretario de fomento, *Exposicion que hace el Secretario de fomento sobre la colonizacion de la Baja California*, Mexico, 1887; Robertson, W. Parish, *The foreign debt of Mexico, being the report of a special mission to that state . . . of the bondholders*, London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1850; *The silver districts of Nevada*, N. Y.: Wm. C. Bryant, 1865.

From Board of Trustees, War Memorial of San Francisco—Todd, Frank Morton, *The story of the [1915] exposition*, N. Y.: Putnam, 1921. 5v.

From MR. SAMUEL C. WIEL—Wiel, Samuel C., *Fifty years of water law*, Cambridge, 1936.

From MRS. FRANCIS WILLIAMS, Lyman, George D., *Ralston's ring*, N. Y.: Scribner, 1937; Nevins, Allan, *Fremont, pathmarker of the West*, N. Y.: D. Appleton-Century, 1939.

PICTURES AND MAPS

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Painting in oils, by an unknown artist, of Father Junipero Serra celebrating mass at Monterey, painted cir. 1860; photograph of book of minutes, 1865, showing Mark Twain as junior deacon of the Lodge of Free Masons (Mountain Lodge); photographs of M. A. Gunst, Mary Austin (framed).

From MR. HENRY B. HOUSE—Faust's map & guide of S. F., 1882; photograph of

Mark Hopkins Art Institute; photographs of houses of Mrs. Theresa Fair and David C. Colton; 4 colored lithographs of the Midwinter Fair.

MISCELLANEOUS

From MR. BEN BADGER—City license, Petaluma, permitting Miss Ella Badger to show in Petaluma, Sept. 29-Oct. 5, 1879; letter from Sansome Hook & Ladder Co. to Joseph Badger, S. F., Dec. 11, 1854; newspaper clipping—grand gift concert in aid of the Mercantile Library Ass., Oct. 31, 1870; note (in pencil) from L. W. Keene to Miss Badger, undated; 2 playbills, 2 broadsides and 1 card announcing Benefits for Miss Ella Badger; program—Grand Celebration, Marysville, July 4, 1872.

From MR. ALBERT M. BENDER—Admission cards, programs for 21st anniversary of Pacific Lodge, No. 136, for Tuesday, May 25, 1880; B. S. Centenary William Morris, craftsman, romancer, poet, prophet, 1834-1934, Mills College, Calif.; broadside—poem on St. Patrick printed by Jane Grahborn for Albert M. Bender Mar. 17, 1939; broadside—"Shamrock song," by Katherine Tynan; Folder—"The Lake Isle of Innisfree," by William Butler Yeats; letter to A. M. Bender from Edwin Markham, Sept. 2, 1915; various invitations, programs, etc.

From THE CALIFORNIA CHINESE PIONEER HISTORICAL SOCIETY—A colored souvenir map and story of San Francisco's Chinatown.

From MISS BERTHA STAFFORD NEWELL—Complete list of officers, crew and passengers on board ship *Reindeer* from Boston to California, Nov. 23, 1849, to Apr. 2, 1850 (MS).

From CAPT. R. E. O'NEILL—Typewritten copy of English translation of a Spanish letter from the Mission San Francisco de Solano, Mar. 29, 1824.

From MISS E. W. WARD—Program, ticket and invitation (with envelope) to the Grand Complimentary Ball in honor of the Vigilance Committee, Aug. 21, 1856.

From MR. FRED W. ZIMMERMAN, SR.—Proclamation by the Mayor, E. E. Schmitz, April 18, 1906; souvenirs of the fire of April 18, 1906.

LOANS

From MR. SHORB STEELE—Derringers with which David C. Broderick and Dr. William M. Gwin fought their famous duel; silver curtain clasps formerly belonging to the Yorba family; silver cup awarded to B. D. Wilson & Son, 1865, for the best red wine; certificate from the U. S. Commissioner of Pensions, Dec. 24, 1872, entitling Benjamin D. Wilson to 160 acres of land in recognition of his service as captain of a company of California militia in the Mexican War.

In Memoriam

FREDERICK BARUCH

1860-1938

Mr. Frederick Baruch, a member of the California Historical Society, died November 20, 1938, in San Francisco. He was a son of Isaac Baruch, and was born in Coulterville, Mariposa County, on May 13, 1860. At an early age Frederick Baruch and his family moved to San Francisco, where he received his elementary school training at Lincoln Grammar School and later attended the Boys' High School. Shortly thereafter he became one of the principals in the firm of Baruch & Co., organized in 1887 to conduct a general merchandise store in San Salvador and to export coffee from that country. He served as Consul for San Salvador for many years.

As a civic-minded citizen, he was intimately acquainted with the leaders of the community. Frederick Baruch made San Francisco his home for over sixty years. He was a valued member of the Commonwealth Club of California, and was also a member of the Argonaut Club. He was one-time president of Mount Zion Hospital. His fine character, his public spirit, and his strong family devotion are attributes which will always be associated with his name.

Frederick Baruch is survived by his wife, Emily Baruch; his two daughters, Mrs. John P. Tate and Mrs. Theodore M. Lilienthal, of San Francisco; a son, Frederick Baruch, Jr., of Fresno; a sister, Mrs. Marcus Rosenberg; and two brothers, Albert and Benjamin Baruch.

EDGAR M. KAHN

FRANK PRENTISS DEERING

1855-1939

Frank Prentiss Deering, long a member of the San Francisco Bar, passed away at St. Luke's Hospital on May 19, 1939, after an illness of several weeks. He was born in Jacksonville, Tuolumne County, but received his education in San Francisco schools and the University of California, from which he was graduated in 1875. In 1881 he obtained his master's degree and that of bachelor of laws, although he had been admitted to practice in 1879.

As a lawyer of outstanding prominence, he was elected to membership of the Board of Trustees of Stanford University in 1916, and this present year celebrated his fiftieth year of membership in the Bohemian Club, of which he had been a former president. Mr. Deering was also a member of the Pacific Union and Burlingame Country clubs, and of the California Historical Society, in which he took a deep interest.

Mr. Deering is survived by his widow, the former Mabel Craft; a daughter, Mrs. Thomas Carr Howe; a brother, Henry; a sister, Miss Annie Deering; and a granddaughter, Miss Francesca Deering Howe.

Few San Franciscans of his time had a larger acquaintanceship among the people of this city and a greater host of friends than did Frank Deering, as he was affectionately known to all. In his death the community has suffered a real loss.

JOSEPH A. DONOHUE

1863-1939

Joseph A. Donohoe, for many years president of the Donohoe, Kelly Banking Company of San Francisco, an institution founded in 1864 by his father, Joseph A. Donohoe, and Eugene Kelly, died at his home in Atherton, San Mateo County, on May 18 following a short illness. Mr. Donohoe was born in San Francisco in 1863, and in 1888 married Christine P. Parrott, daughter of John Parrott, pioneer California merchant and former United States Consul at Mazatlan, Mexico, and his wife Abby. Since 1929, when the banking firm of which he was head transferred its business to the Bank of America, Mr. Donohoe confined his activities to the Parrott Investment Company. He was a member of the Pacific Union and Olympic clubs, and of the California Historical Society, and was mayor of the town of Atherton. His wife having died in 1926, his immediate family of four daughters and a son survive him: the Misses Christine M., Katherine M., and Barbara M. Donohoe, and Mrs. Mary Donohoe Carter and Joseph A. Donohoe, Jr. Mr. Donohoe was the brother-in-law of Mrs. Grace Parrott Hayne of San Mateo and of Mr. Christian de Guigne and the Count Auguste de la Lande.

During his long and active career as a San Francisco banker, Mr. Donohoe established and maintained a high reputation for conservative judgment and was regarded as one of the city's ablest financiers.

EDWARD FRANCIS HAAS

1870-1939

Edward F. Haas, who died on April 13, was a native of Stockton, the son of a pioneer merchant. He received his education in the public schools of that city and at the University of California, from which he graduated in 1892. He spent a year in postgraduate work at Columbia University and then returned to California to practice his profession of civil engineering. This was just as the last era of reclamation in the Sacramento and San Joaquin deltas was in full swing. He participated extensively in this development. As it drew to a close, in addition to his professional work, he became senior

partner in a contracting firm which engaged principally in building irrigation and drainage systems throughout the West. Mr. Haas was a member of both the University and Engineer clubs and of the California Historical Society.

He is survived by his widow, the former Miss Mabel Thompson of Stockton, by a son, Edward T. Haas, and daughter, Mrs. Alice Haas Conner, and two grandchildren.

ANSON S. BLAKE

HARRY EAST MILLER

1862-1939

Dr. Harry East Miller died at his home in Oakland on May 12, 1939. Dr. Miller was born at San Francisco, November 26, 1862, and was therefore seventy-six years of age at the time of his death. He belonged to a distinguished California family. His father was Albert Miller, a prominent banker in San Francisco; and one of his brothers, who survives him, is C. O. G. Miller, President of Pacific Lighting Corporation and a Director of the California Historical Society.

Harry East Miller was educated at the University of California, graduating with the degree of B.S. in 1885. He obtained his Ph.D. at the University of Strassburg, Germany, in 1888. His business was that of a consulting chemist. He was for a time superintendent of the Judson Dynamite & Powder Company; later an expert chemist connected with the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Co., and still later superintendent of the Giant Powder Company. After retiring from active business, he joined the staff of the College of Chemistry of the University of California, later receiving the appointment of research associate. During the Great War he was Chairman of the Oakland Chapter of the American Red Cross.

In addition to being a member of the California Historical Society, he was a member of a number of scientific societies.

Dr. Miller married Myrah Gray Prather, a member of a prominent East Bay family. His widow, together with two children, Harry East, Jr., and Laura (Mrs. John B. Knox), as well as two grandchildren, survive him.

ALLEN L. CHICKERING

WARREN OLNEY, JR.

1870-1939

Warren Olney, Jr., who died at his home in Berkeley, California, March 25, 1939, was born at San Francisco, October 15, 1870. He graduated from the University of California with a degree of A.B. in 1891, and took the

degree of A.B. at Harvard the following year, and the degree of LL.B. at the Hastings College of the Law in 1894. In 1919 he was given the honorary degree of LL.D. by the University of California.

On October 24, 1899, he married Mary M. McLean, of Oakland, California, who survives him, together with their three children: Warren Olney III, who is associated in his father's firm, McCutchen, Olney, Mannon & Greene; another son, John McLean Olney, of Berkeley; and a daughter, Constance, Mrs. Herbert Bartholomew, of St. Louis.

Judge Olney started the practice of law in San Francisco with his father, and later was a member of several firms. He was an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of California from 1919 to 1921, retiring to become a member of the firm of McCutchen, Olney, Mannon & Greene in 1921, which association continued until the time of his death.

His outside interests were many. He was an associate professor of law for some years in the Hastings College of the Law, and a lecturer in the School of Jurisprudence of the University of California for three years. While in college he was a member of Beta Theta Pi Fraternity, and in the law school was a member of Phi Delta Phi. he belonged to the Pacific Union, University and Bohemian clubs of San Francisco, the Claremont Country Club of Oakland, the Faculty Club of Berkeley and the Mt. Diablo Country Club.

ALLEN L. CHICKERING

NORMAN H. SLOANE

1890-1939

Norman Hinsdale Sloane was born in Pueblo, Colorado. After attending the Biltmore Forestry School in North Carolina, he entered the United States Forestry service at the Monterey National Forest, California, of which he became supervisor in 1913. After serving as supervisor of the Cleveland and Shasta National Forests, he resigned in 1920 to become manager of the Home Industry League. This was renamed the California Industries Association and in 1921 was merged with the California Development Board, to become in 1929 the California State Chamber of Commerce.

After Mr. Sloane's death on February 14, 1939, Mr. A. J. McFadden, the president of the State Chamber of Commerce, paid him this tribute: "In the solution of all the great economic problems that have confronted the people of California during the past two decades, Norman Sloane's personal leadership has been a force whose value can never be measured. His friends, and California as a whole, have suffered a great loss."

PERSONALIA AND MARGINALIA

With the present issue of the *Quarterly* closes the tenure of the present chairman of the Publication Committee, who has held the position since September, 1933, when Mr. Carl I. Wheat relinquished the chairmanship because of his removal to Los Angeles. This change of editors is due to Mr. Douglas S. Watson's forthcoming departure for southern California, where he plans to make his home in the future.

During the nearly six years that Mr. Watson has been editor, the Society has issued a number of notable books, including the *Drake's Plate of Brass*, *Drake's Plate of Brass Authenticated*, *The Annals of Los Angeles*, *The Story of San Jose*, *The Beginnings of Marysville*, *Chapters from the Life of Thomas O. Larkin* and the *Continuation of the Annals of San Francisco*. He will be succeeded by Mr. George L. Harding, now a member of the Publication Committee. Mr. Harding was graduated from the University of Indiana and later took his degree of Master of Business Administration at Harvard. The *Don Agustin V. Zamorano* which he wrote for the Zamorano Club of Los Angeles is an outstanding item of Californiana and is recognized as the authoritative source book having to do with early printing in the State.

A series of important scrap-books belonging to the late Adolph Sutro has been presented to the Society by Messrs. Allen L. Chickering, Charles S. Cushing, John D. Galloway and J. K. Moffitt. This acquisition, numbering sixty-three items, contains newspaper clippings gathered by the famous Comstock engineer, beginning before the Sutro Tunnel controversy and extending into the period of his administration as Mayor of San Francisco. These scrap-books will prove a gold mine to researchers delving into the era covered by them. The Society wishes to express its thanks to the donors.

Prior to the publication of *Drake's Plate of Brass Authenticated*, Professor Hardin Craig of the English Department of Stanford University, together with his colleagues, Professors Herbert Meritt and Francis R. Johnson, examined the materials then at hand. From Prof. Craig's letter the following quotation is taken:

"There is one exceptional spelling to which attention has been repeatedly called. I refer to the three occurrences of the word HERR. The spelling of 'her' with two r's is common enough in the Fifteenth Century and no doubt lingered on in written works throughout the Sixteenth Century, but it is exceptional. It may be that the occurrence and recurrence of this form is due to an exigency which arose in the carving of the first HERR. In that case it looks as if the carver in making the second member of the letter R had made a second vertical stroke instead of the necessary inverse and reverse curves. Having done this, he had only one choice left, and that was to complete his letter on the mistaken vertical stroke. This may have suggested the later occurrences. There is nothing else in the plate to suggest the deliberate archaisms of a forger, and this word itself is so poorly chosen as an imitation of Elizabethan English that we think it need cut no figure in an argument against the authenticity of the document."

Since the above was written, Mr. Allen L. Chickering has discovered an authentic Elizabethan document bearing upon the point discussed by Prof. Craig. Shortly it is planned to publish a facsimile of Mr. Chickering's find, together with an article by him discussing this point in detail.

As this issue of the *Quarterly* goes to press, it is with deep regret that we must note the death in San Francisco, on June 10, at the age of eighty, of Mr. Clarence Marshall Wooster, whose contributions to the upbuilding of the State of his birth were many and outstanding. A manuscript of his colorful reminiscences is a highly prized possession of the Society, from which two episodes have already been printed in the *Quarterly*. More will appear in the future.